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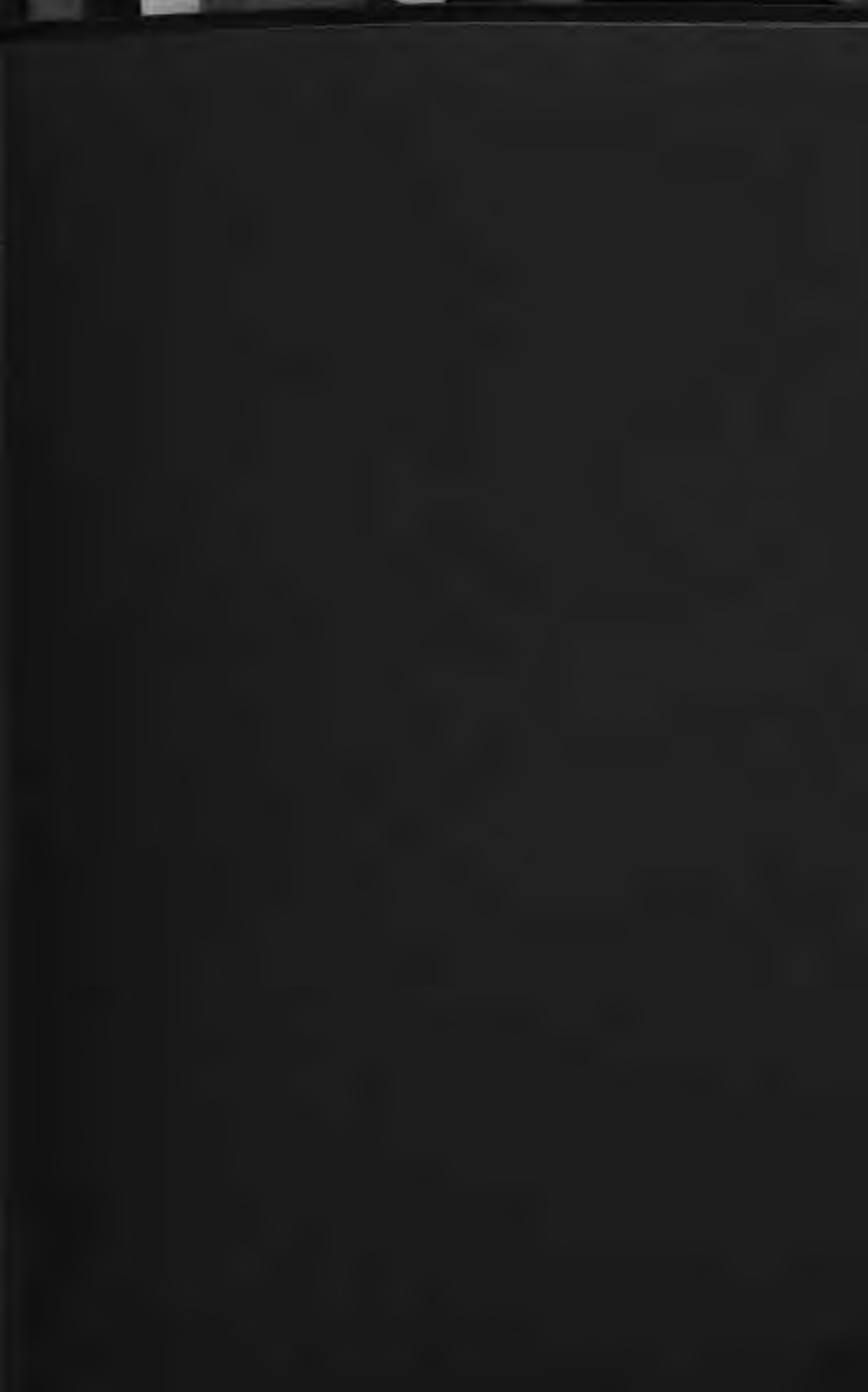
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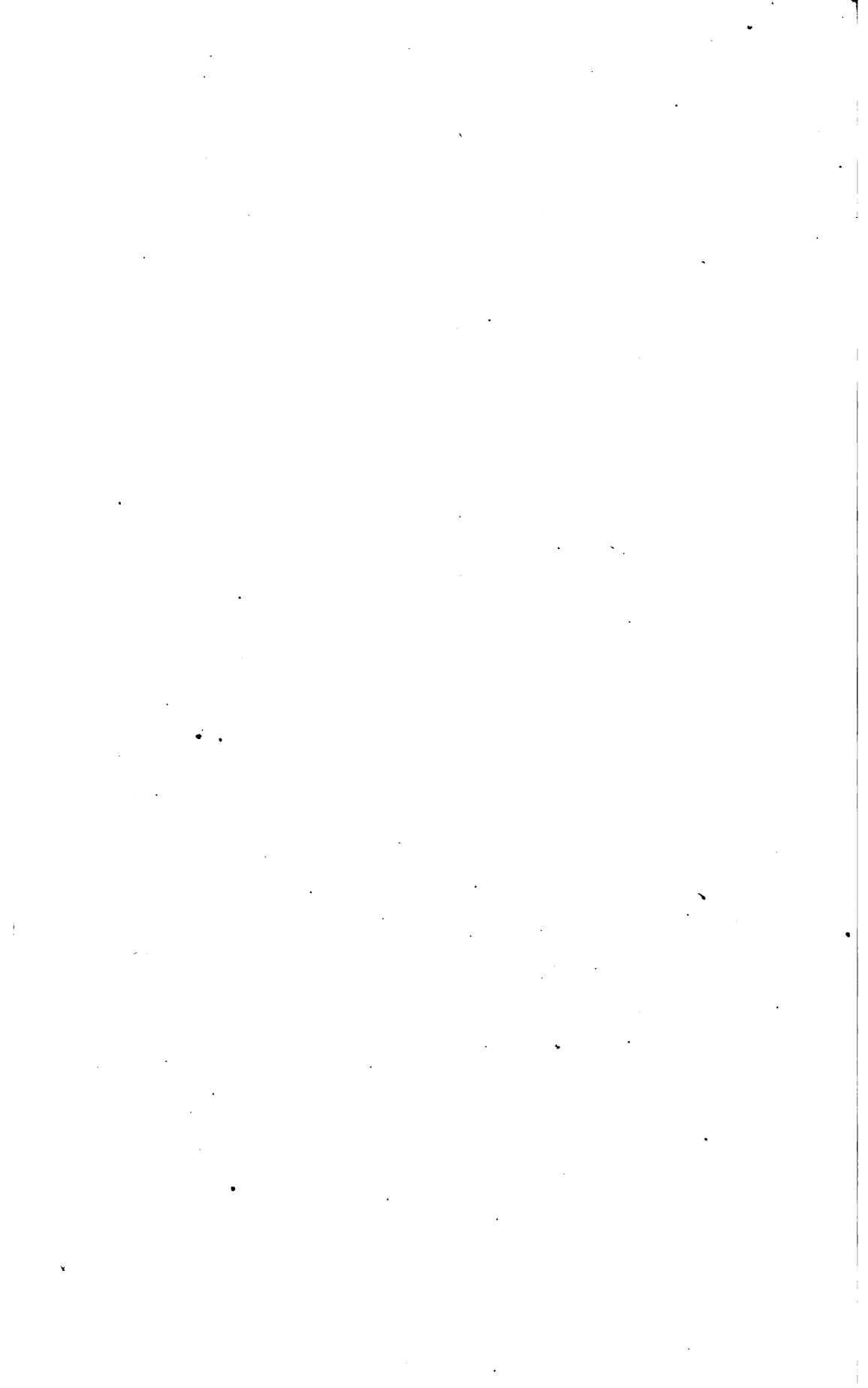
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Lansdowne.





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THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE
MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE

AS
VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA,
1888—1894.

By GEORGE W. FORREST, B.A.,
DIRECTOR OF RECORDS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.



CALCUTTA:
OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA.
1894.

CALCUTTA:
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA CENTRAL PRINTING OFFICE,
8, HASTINGS STREET.

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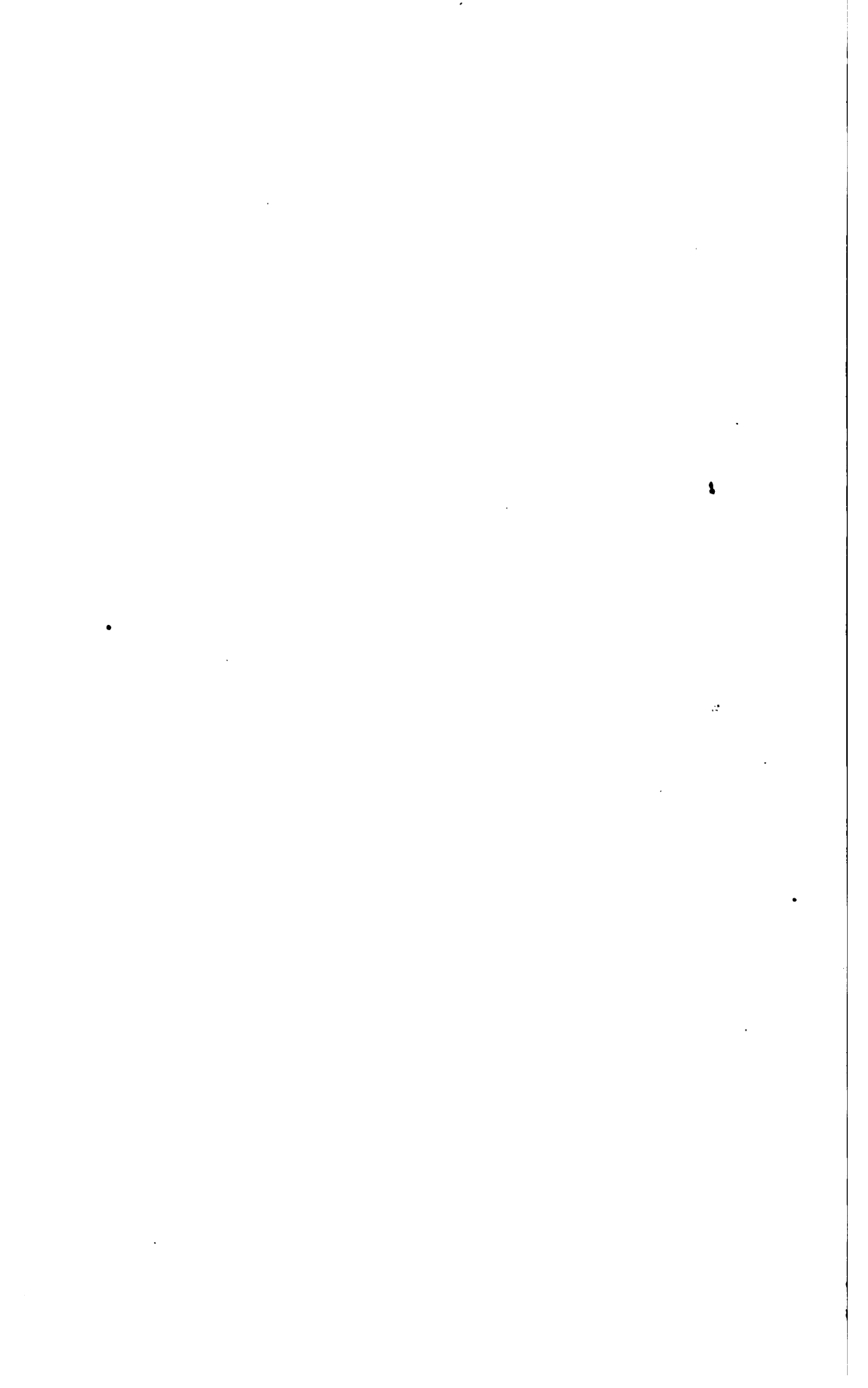
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THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE
MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE
AS
VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

1888—1894.

ON the third of December 1888, the Marquis of Lansdowne, who had been appointed to succeed the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava as Governor-General and Viceroy of India, landed at Bombay. The leading inhabitants of the city—European as well as Native—had assembled at the pier to give him a welcome suited to his dignity, and the Municipal Corporation presented him with an address. After staying three days in the capital of Western India, spending his time in making himself acquainted with the people and the city, and in visiting its many noble institutions for the promotion of literature, science and art, Lord Lansdowne proceeded to Calcutta. On the ninth of December His Lordship took over charge of the Indian Empire. Numerous addresses of congratulation were tendered to him, and, in replying to the representatives of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation, he expressed an earnest hope that, during his term of

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office, peace and safety might be vouchsafed to the land, and "that those who are concerned in its Government may find it within their power to address themselves, unimpeded by external or internal complications, to the task of wise and prudent legislation for the domestic advantage of the people, and to the introduction of such improvements in the machinery by which your public affairs are administered as may from time to time be required by the altering circumstances of the country and its people."

It is impossible to give more than a bare outline of the changes and improvements which have been effected and the measures which have been taken during the past four years for the domestic advantage of the people.

A guiding principle of Lord Lansdowne's internal policy was the promotion of a systematic enquiry into the facts and circumstances of the Empire. He realized as keenly as any of his predecessors that a knowledge of the country and its people is the foundation of all sound administration. The Imperial Census of India for 1891, in which he took a personal interest, furnished a mass of information regarding the Indian population, their religious and social customs, and the economic conditions under which they live, the importance of which, to the man of science and the administrator, it would be difficult to exaggerate. A careful consideration of the statistical data which have been gathered with so much labour leads to the conclusion that the soil of India, as a whole, still suffices for the wants of the population, and that the present rate of increase does not press too heavily upon the means of subsistence.

An Imperial Census taken once in ten years is, however, neither a complete nor a continuous source of information, and Lord Lansdowne therefore gave his vigorous support to the organization by the Imperial Department of Revenue and Agriculture of a wide and searching scheme for the investigation of the conditions

and circumstances of each district or agricultural tract throughout the Empire. The Imperial Department of Revenue and Agriculture was created in pursuance of the recommendation of the Famine Commission appointed in 1881 to organize and direct Departments of Agriculture in the different Provinces of the Empire, and to control the administration of land revenue. Provincial Departments have been formed, and local machinery has been organized in every part of India for collecting statistical facts regarding the produce of land, the forms of tenure on which it is held, the circumstances of its cultivation, and the condition of each agricultural tract. This has been secured by the development of the indigenous system of maintaining maps and records in each village, which experience has shown is the only sure foundation for a system of agricultural enquiry and of sound land revenue administration. The measure has entailed the education and control throughout the Provinces of the Empire of some hundreds of thousands of village accountants, and, begun under Lord Dufferin, the work has received a strong impetus under Lord Lansdowne's administration in the extension of the system to all Provinces in India in which it had not previously been introduced. More than this, it has been applied, under Lord Lansdowne's personal advice, to the large and important Native State of Gwalior in the hope that it will be extended to other States under Native rule.

During the past four years serious endeavours have been made to utilise the facts and figures which have been collected from the village records and other sources. Registers in which statistical results are collated and reviewed in an intelligent manner have been drawn up in every administrative circle of about two hundred square miles, from which officers of Government can at once ascertain the progress or decline of the agricultural tract and the condition of its agricultural population. Eight substantial volumes containing a complete and detailed compilation of all the facts and statistics connected

Imperial
Department
of Revenue
and Agriculture.

Agricultural
Statistics.

with economic products have, in the last year of Lord Lansdowne's Viceroyalty, been published. Two series of official bulletins dealing with agricultural and economic products have also, within the last two years, been founded, and in these, all important facts and statistics derived from the investigation of the current year are published month by month. Measures have also been taken to secure, supply and publish in a useful form the results supplied by the Departments of Forests, Survey, Inland Trade, Geology, Meteorology, Veterinary Science and Agricultural Chemistry.

The
Agricultural
Chemist's
Department.

The Agricultural Chemist's Department, which has been established, will cover more ground than is implied in the term Agricultural Chemistry. It will be responsible for collating and disseminating information on the subject of agricultural operations throughout India, and for directing agricultural experiment on a sound and continuous system. In pursuance of the policy that the establishment of a scientific system of enquiry was an essential feature of all administrative reform, the first duty assigned to the Veterinary Department, which also has been founded, was to make a survey of all the facts and circumstances relating to the cattle or stock of the country and the diseases to which they are subject in different localities. The agricultural wealth of the country is enormously affected by the number of cattle swept off every year by the different epidemics.

Veterinary
Department.

Bacteriologi-
cal Depart-
ment.

For the prevention of such epidemics a Bacteriological Department was founded subordinate to the Veterinary Department, designed to supply vaccine for the more destructive epidemics, especially rinderpest, which alone is estimated yearly to destroy many millions of cattle.

Geological
Department.

The Geological Department has long existed, but its work has hitherto been conducted almost entirely on a purely scientific basis, practical search for metals and minerals of economic value having been in great measure neglected. During the administration of Lord Lansdowne, the energies of the department have, however,

been directed to an examination into the great but little developed mineral wealth of the country. Special researches have been conducted by officers of the Geological Department with a view to ascertaining the commercial capabilities of the coal-fields at Eab and Mohpani in the Central Provinces, at Kalimpong and Daltonganj in Bengal, in Hazara and the Salt Range in the Punjab, in Baluchistan, in the Khasia, Jaintia and Garo Hills in Assam, and at Mergui and Chindwin in Burma; borings have been made for petroleum in various parts of the Baluchistan Agency, and it is said that oil will be found in paying quantities at Sukkur. Arrangements for the demarcation and lease of the valuable wells at Yenangyaung in Upper Burma have been concluded. Special enquiries have been concluded in Madras into the iron ores of the Salem and Karnul districts, the corundum of Salem, the steatite of Karnul and the gold of Anantapur, Bellary, and Cuddapah. The copper ores of Sikkim and the tin resources of Tenasserim have also received careful attention from the officers of the Geological Department. The Botanical officers of the country, whose operations have hitherto been confined to small local areas, have been utilised for the establishment of a complete Botanical survey and their attention directed to practical questions connected with agriculture. Various measures have been adopted both for the improvement of the productions of India and for the introduction of new products. The Government of Lord Lansdowne has, however, laid down the important principle that it is unwise to attempt to introduce broadcast throughout the land new and presumed agricultural improvements until education of a more effective character has been more widely spread among the agricultural classes.

A primary object of collecting and collating in appropriate registers facts and statistics for each district of every Province is the formation of a complete and simple basis for the assessment of the land revenue which mainly

Land
Revenue.

determines the economic condition of nearly the whole population. Lord Lansdowne accepted the view that the right of the State to a specified share of the produce of the land is established by long continued custom and by the historical precedents of many centuries, and that, in maintaining this right, the State acts as the representative of the whole tax-paying community of the Empire whose interests it is its bounden duty to guard and to protect from encroachment. But while careful to secure the interests of the public from encroachment, it has been recognised by the Government of Lord Lansdowne that it is of the highest importance to the people that the assessment on land should be moderate, and that the State should in every way endeavour to promote measures which would relieve indebted and distressed land-owners. The development of the policy which would on the one hand secure the rights and interests of the tax-paying community, and on the other keep the agricultural classes which pay the land revenue from distress and embarrassment was, however, a work which Lord Lansdowne felt could be no more than commenced by his own hand. It was a task of such great magnitude that he could but lay its foundation. He saw, as many engaged in the administration of the land had seen before him, that the chief error of the past had been in the departure made from the long-established principles of native administration by substituting an absolutely rigid system of collecting the land revenue for a system which was supremely elastic; and by conferring upon the occupiers and holders of agricultural lands a new and unaccustomed freedom to part with their lands by transfer and sale. This view has recently received strong confirmation in important reports submitted to Lord Lansdowne from Bombay, the Punjab, and the Central Provinces. They have indicated that defects in the land revenue system might be a primary cause of agricultural impoverishment, and that the unrestricted power of transfer which had been suddenly conferred upon land-

holders and cultivators by past administrations was amongst the most prominent of these defects.

The growing poverty and indebtedness of the agricultural population of certain districts of the Deccan and the transfer of the land from them to the trading and money-lending classes of Hindu society long ago attracted the attention of the Government of India, and the Deccan Agricultural Relief Act, XVII of 1879, was passed to meet these evils. The working of the Act has been carefully watched by the Government of India and, in order to thoroughly investigate its effect and to determine whether its principles could be applied to other provinces of the Empire, a Special Commission was appointed under the orders of Lord Lansdowne. The Commission were instructed to give their attention to the working of the system of land administration as well as the defects in the special enactment on which they were primarily required to report. Their report has been received and the outlines on which legislation for the amendment of the Deccan Act are to be carried out have been decided upon. The larger questions affecting revenue administration and the policy of land transfer in respect of which their opinion is substantially in accordance with the views indicated by Lord Lansdowne still remain for consideration.

The measures which have been discussed are in themselves effectual means for improving the economic condition of the people, but Irrigation Works and Railways are the two great instruments for directly developing the productive resources of the country. By giving him a perennial supply of water, the peasant has been enabled to cultivate fields which had lain barren for centuries, while railways enable him to find a market for his surplus produce. During the Viceroyalty of the Marquis of Lansdowne, the area of actual irrigation has been increased from 7,806,203 to 9,684,143, or an increase of 1,877,940 acres. The annual capital outlay has been about 73½ lakhs. From the year 1888 to the end of 1893, 3,694 additional miles of railway have

been sanctioned, and 3,959 miles of new lines have been opened for traffic. It is possible to mention only some of the more important. The East Coast Railway will open up an enormous tract of country which has hitherto been cut off from communication with the outer world. An equally important work, the Godra-Rutlam Railway, will ultimately afford a more direct and easy means of conveyance between Western India and Delhi and the North-Western Provinces. The Lucknow-Rae Bareli-Benares line will give access to the rich products of one of the most fertile tracts in Upper India, and form a link in the double track of rapid communication with the North-West Frontier. The Mushkaf-Bolan will render our frontier communications more complete. The Bareilly-Rampur-Moradabad is worthy of note, not only on account of the benefits it will confer, but because it mainly owes its existence to the public spirit of the Native State of Rampur, which has lent a large portion of the capital required to construct it. The Assam-Bengal line will develop the resources of the fertile valley of Assam, where so much European capital is invested, and connect it with the sea. The Mu Valley line will bring the Province of Upper Burma within the reach of civilization.

Famine
relief.

By the construction of railways and works of irrigation the recurrence of famines may be rendered less frequent, but it is impossible for the Government to place every province of the Empire in a position of absolute safety. All that Government can do is to mitigate as far as possible the suffering which must ensue from a failure of the harvest, and the attention of Lord Lansdowne's government has therefore been directed to the perfecting of the system of famine relief, which had been commenced under Lord Ripon and Lord Dufferin. The Provincial Famine Codes were put to a severe test on the occurrence of scarcity in Ganjam in 1888, and in several provinces in 1891-92, and though, on the whole, they proved satisfactory, many defects were brought to

light, and the Government, therefore, determined to undertake a complete revision of the Code. This has been done, and under Lord Lansdowne's directions full and final instructions have been issued in accordance with which a revised code is now being prepared in each province for the approval of the Government of India.

Another matter on which the well-being of the agri- Sanitation.
cultural population very greatly depends has received a large measure of consideration, but to improve the sanitation of a large continent must be the slow work of education and of time. Old customs and the tradition of ages have to be destroyed. A too precipitate and violent attempt to improve rural sanitation might lead to widespread discontent. As Lord Lansdowne stated, in his reply to the Public Health Society for Calcutta, sanitary problems in India "must be approached with the utmost tact, patience and forbearance." "The path of the sanitary reformer brings him face to face, sometimes with natural indifference begotten of ignorance, sometimes with what appear at first sight to be prejudices and superstitions, but which, on closer examination, prove to have their foundations deep in the customs and traditional habits of portions of the human race." His Excellency added: "In regard to the distribution of the work to be done, I will venture to say that our great object should be to stimulate local efforts, and, if possible, to render the people themselves alive to the advantages of sanitary reform." In pursuance of this policy Provincial Sanitary Boards have been constituted in the different provinces, and measures of village sanitation have been carried out in each part of India. It is impossible to give details of these measures, Water-Works.
but of all the sanitary improvements which have been made, none will more greatly add to the comfort, convenience and health of the people than the system of water-works, which has been introduced during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne.

At Agra, conspicuous for the mighty relics of the Moghal Empire, at Benares, the holy city which draws crowds of pilgrims from every quarter of India, at Allahabad, where a multitude of devotees yearly flock to pray at the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna, at Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, and at Cawnpore, the industrial centre of Northern India, new water-works have been constructed which are the means of bringing to these cities health, comfort, and the almost innumerable blessings which a pure water-supply affords.

Extension of
vaccination
and
distribution
of quinine.

Medical aid
and
Education of
women.

For the further protection of the health of the people attempts have also been made in different parts of the Empire to extend vaccination, and measures have been taken to place quinine within their easy reach through the agency of the Post Office. The great and useful movement for supplying medical aid and education to the women of India, which was commenced by Lady Dufferin, has been greatly advanced under the guidance of Lady Lansdowne. The investments in the Fund which bears Lady Dufferin's name have been increased from 10 to about 17 lakhs, and 27 hospitals and dispensaries which were in existence at the close of her presidency have risen to 60, twelve of which have been built and are supported by Native princes. The number of patients has risen to 550,000, the highest number yet recorded. The progress has been most marked, for the number in 1889 was 280,000 and in 1890, 403,030. Similar progress has been made in the number of female students under instruction at the different medical schools, which was 270 during the past year. The number in 1888 was 127; in 1889, 192; in 1890, 204; a steady and progressive increase, which must grow greater as education is more widely spread among the population of India.

Education.

During the Viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne a considerable advance has been made towards meeting the educational wants of the lowest classes. The most hopeful evidence of the educational advancement of the millions of India is the fact that there has been a large decrease

in the proportion of scholars, both boys and girls, in those institutions where printed books are not read, and a corresponding increase in those primary schools where printed books are used. The number of primary schools has increased during the past four years by 8,022, and the number of scholars by 323,673. The progress made in Secondary Education, or the education which leads from the village school to the college course, has been equally satisfactory. The number of schools has increased by 355, and the number of scholars by 44,201. In Higher or University Education the advance has been most marked. There has been an increase of 15 Arts and 12 Professional colleges, and the number of scholars has advanced by 4,221 in the former and by 555 in the latter. It is gratifying to note that the revenue derived from fees has increased by the large amount of more than 23½ lakhs. This shows that the people are gradually learning to appreciate the value of education, and to rely more upon their own resources and less on the State and the generosity of others.

There is also ample testimony that an inroad has Female Education. begun to be made upon native prejudices, even in the department of female education, and that substantial progress is being made in its diffusion. During the past five years the number of girls reading in primary schools has increased from 214,206 to 270,802 or by 26·5 per cent. In the secondary stage an equally satisfactory progress is reported. And the fact that 13 females have graduated as Bachelors of Arts, and one has taken the degree of Master of Arts, shows that the women of India are capable of taking advantage of the highest grade of instruction in general literature and science.

A short time after his arrival in India Lord Lans- Technical Education. downe, in the course of his first address, as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, to the annual Convocation for the purpose of conferring degrees, called attention to the need of adapting our educational system to the

practical requirements of the country. His Lordship said :—"There seems, for example, to be growing up in several parts of the Empire a wide-spread feeling that the existing system, whilst conferring great benefits, is too exclusively literary, and that we should endeavour to supply our students with a training which would serve their purpose in the event of their ultimately electing to adopt a profession in which literary attainments were not indispensable. I am informed that this feeling has found expression in a growing sympathy for the establishment of technical schools as a supplementary branch of education. Even in the bosom of the University, this feeling, I am told, already exists, but it is checked by a not unnatural apprehension that any change, even of a supplementary kind, in the existing curriculum would endanger the interests of that purely literary culture which will, I hope, never cease to be associated in our minds with University education. To find some means of obtaining the desired advantage, without encountering the evil results which are feared, ought not to be a problem of insuperable difficulty, and I would commend it to the careful consideration of the University authorities." Lord Lansdowne clearly discerned that the first step towards the solution of the problem was the diffusion and improvement of the lower departments of education. As has been shown, a considerable advance has been made during the past five years towards meeting the educational wants of the lowest classes, and measures have also been taken for giving a much wider range and greater practical utility to the studies carried on in the middle class schools. In all the provinces of the empire the teaching of drawing is now encouraged in these schools, and in some it has been made a compulsory part of the school training. In the Presidency of Bombay in 1887 the number of students in the drawing classes was 1,600, besides students of the School of Art. Five years later, the number of scholars learning drawing in schools for general

education had increased to 11,190. In 1890 Art Workshops were added to the Bombay Art School for teaching wood-carving, pottery, art metal work, embroidery, enamelling—subjects which are truly Indian in their treatment. The plan which has been adopted as being most effectual in resuscitating and fostering the artistic processes which are now on the wane is to procure the best native workman in his own special branch, giving him an atelier attached to the school of art fitted up in accordance with his special requirements. He is paid a salary in addition to profits on sale-proceeds for teaching a certain number of students who show an aptitude for his special craft. Two years after the Art Workshops were established they contained 86 apprentices, 19 working in gold and silver, 18 weaving carpets, 26 learning wood-carving, and 23 working in copper, brass and iron. The Principal reports “that each maistree is allowed perfectly free action in his own workshop as regards the selection of tools and materials he employs; and that no interference of any kind is made that would tend to disturb the traditional modes of working peculiar to each craft beyond the insistence that the work executed shall be of the best, and that the ornamentation shall be, as far as it is possible to be in this age when art is cosmopolitan, Indian.” To the Madras School of Art workshops have been also attached, in which apprentices are taught carpentry and wood-carving, lacquer work, goldsmith’s and silversmith’s work, pottery, painting and carpet weaving. The very best native workmen have been obtained and placed in charge of the shops. The Lahore School of Art closely follows the Madras School of Art on a smaller scale. In the Calcutta School of Art the students are trained as skilled general draughtsmen, engineering draughtsmen, architects, wood engravers, and lithographers. Modelling has also been practised in the school, and recently a series of life-size figures of typical Indian races has been executed by the students for the Imperial Institute.

The teaching of science has been carried on with equal vigour. The elements of physical science are taught in most of the English and Vernacular Schools, and all the important institutions have been supplied with the necessary apparatus. Sanitation has also been made a compulsory subject in many of the schools in the different provinces of the Empire. Industrial Schools have been established and agricultural classes attached to some of the high schools. Throughout the Empire a satisfactory commencement of technical education has been made, but it can never be placed on a wide and popular basis until it is ascertained by scientific investigation what improvements in oriental arts and trades are possible, and the people are made capable by a wider diffusion of education of availing themselves of these improvements.

Higher
Education.

While Lord Lansdowne has been anxious that State education in India should rest on the broad basis of the primary schools, and that secondary education should adopt a more flexible course of study, which will enable it to send forth men capable of advancing the manufactures and commerce of the country, he has also recognised the value of higher education, of which the first and indispensable aim must be the cultivation of the mind. As Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, His Excellency has addressed himself to the important problems which its continuous development during the past thirty years has called forth. Holding the opinion that the time had come when the University should be more closely allied with the intellects and aspirations of the men on whom it had conferred its degrees, and that its scholars should have a fuller share of the responsibility which attaches to membership of a great intellectual corporation, Lord Lansdowne, as Chancellor of the University, conferred upon those who have taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts the privilege of selecting yearly a certain number of the Fellows. This electoral experiment has been justified by the academic rank and fitness of the men

University
Electoral
Reform.

whom the graduates have chosen, and the Governors of Bombay and Madras have bestowed a like privilege on the graduates of the Universities over which they respectively preside.

During the past four years, the formation of the Imperial Library has been the first step towards supplying an urgent administrative and intellectual want. At the capital of the Empire there has hitherto been no institution in which the administrator or student could find important standard works in any single branch of knowledge. The Government possessed departmental libraries, but, owing to the want of proper catalogues, it was not known what books they contained. About sixty thousand volumes, gathered from these different Departmental Libraries, have been brought under one roof, arranged and made available to the public. A catalogue of the Imperial Library is in course of preparation. It is no unreasonable expectation that, in the course of time, by the generosity of benefactors and a judicious expenditure of State money, the Imperial Library, founded during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne, will not be unworthy to rank with those great storehouses of learning which it is the privilege of Europe to possess.

Simultaneously with the exertions which have been made during these years to found an Imperial Library, active means have been taken to form an Imperial Record Office for the care, superintendence and preservation of the ancient records of the Government of India. The attention of the Government of Lord Lansdowne being directed to the neglected state of the records and the necessity for some plan for conserving them and rendering them available for historical research, it was resolved to obtain the sanction of the Secretary of State to the appointment of a special officer to organize a Central Record Office. The sanction having been obtained, an Imperial Record Office has, during the past four years, been established, and the records of the Government of India systematically arranged in one

general repository. Indexes, catalogues and calendars are in course of preparation, which will make available, to those who are now engaged in the task of administration, the experience of the able and eminent men who have preceded them, and will afford the student every facility for studying those original documents from which alone can be traced the history of the growth of our Indian Empire.

Administra-
tion of
justice.

The measures which have been taken to directly advance the material and moral progress of the people have been strengthened by corresponding measures for the improvement of the administration of justice, on which their security and contentment so greatly depend. The difficulty of administering criminal justice in India arises from the character and habits of the people. Their passive and timid natures make them unwilling to take an active part in bringing criminals to justice, and the great power which must be entrusted to the police is fraught with considerable danger. Measures have been taken, during the administration of Lord Lansdowne, to reform what has hitherto remained the most faulty part of our system in India. The police force of every province has been reorganized, and the position of the subordinate police has been generally improved.

Police.

Prison
discipline.

The subject of jail discipline and management, which has commanded the deepest interest in England during the past century, has received the earnest attention of the Government of India. A conference of officers experienced in the administration of prisons was convened, and their report satisfied the Government of India that great divergencies existed in all matters of jail administration in the different Provinces of the Empire. A Bill has, therefore, been introduced into the Imperial Legislative Council, the main object of which is to restrict the discretion and to define the authority of prison officers in all Provinces in regard to punishments, and thereby to produce uniformity in prison discipline.

Legislation.

A full discussion of the Legislation of the Govern-

ment of India during the past four years lies beyond the scope of this review. It has embraced a great variety of subjects, and has effected many amendments of the law. Three Acts, however, may be selected from the crowd on account of their benevolence: I.—The Government of Factory Act.

India feeling that they were called upon to take precautions for the protection of the operatives of India beyond those which already had a place in the Statute Book, an Act was passed, which restricted the hours during which women could be employed to eleven a day, and limited the hours of children to half-time, and in both cases provided a sufficient interval of rest. It also secured to the whole of the factory hands of India a weekly holiday. II.—Soon after the arrival of Lord Lansdowne an Act, the initiative of which was in a great measure due to himself, was passed, under which persons convicted of various kinds of cruelty to dumb brutes were rendered liable to certain kinds of punishment. Other Acts, local and general, having similar objects, were already in operation, but the Act of 1890 was a much more comprehensive measure than any which preceded it, and particularly in this respect that, whereas the earlier Acts were framed only for the protection of draught animals, the Act of 1890 contains a clause in which the word “animal” is defined as including “any domestic or captured animal.” This Act, which it was left to the discretion of the Local Governments to bring into effect, has been largely resorted to in the different Provinces of the Empire. III.—The Age of Consent Act Age of Consent Act. removed a noted evil, which was a just cause of national reproach. The existing criminal law protected young girls, whether married or unmarried, up to the age of ten. The new Act raised the limit within which protection is ensured to twelve. In the course of the discussion which took place in the Legislative Council on the Bill, Lord Lansdowne once more laid down the important principle that it is impossible for a civilized Government to respect the customs and

prejudices of any section of the native community when they are inconsistent with the principles of humanity, morality and reason. Replying to the argument that the measure was contrary to the terms of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, His Lordship said— "Now with regard to this contention let me say at once that no Government of India has yet admitted, and that no Government of India will, I hope, ever be found to admit that the Queen's Proclamation, to which this appeal is made, is capable of any such interpretation as that which has been placed upon it by those who used this argument. If that interpretation is to cover the case now under discussion, we must read the Queen's Proclamation as a contract that, whenever the requirements of public morality, or of the public welfare, moral or material, are found to be in conflict with the alleged requirements of any of the various religions prevailing in this country, religion is to prevail, and considerations affecting public health, public morality, and the general comfort and convenience of the Queen's subjects are to become of no account. The contention is, on the face of it, a preposterous one. Such a contract would have been absolutely retrograde and out of place in the Great Charter issued in 1858 by one of the most humane and enlightened sovereigns who has ever ruled over the nations of the earth." Lord Lansdowne proceeded to point out that the pledges contained in the Queen's Proclamation must be read with the important reservation "that in all cases where demands, preferred in the name of religion would lead to practices inconsistent with individual safety and the public peace, and condemned by every system of law and morality in the world, it is religion and not morality which must give way." In passing the Age of Consent Bill the Government of India merely acted on the principle which, as Lord Lansdowne stated, had been invariably observed by the Government and which in past times has been put in practice in its legislature for the removal

of certain abuses which brought dishonour on the people, who practised them and the power which tolerated them. The Government, which has rescued infants from the Ganges, widows from the flames, and the child-wife from the miseries of perpetual widowhood, has now offered protection to immature children, who were too often the victims of cruel ill-usage, which sometimes ended in death.

Another important measure of reform also occupied the attention of the Government of India. It was brought to their notice by the Local Government with which under the law, as it stands, it rests to declare what offences shall be triable by jury in the Mofussil, and the Judges who are answerable for the administration of justice, that in certain districts of Bengal, where the jury system had been on its trial for a considerable period of time, a jury could not be relied upon to convict in cases involving a capital sentence notwithstanding the weight of evidence. It is true that in such cases the law allows a dissenting Judge to refer the jury's verdict for final decision by the High Court; but this safeguard was found to work capriciously. The Judge often hesitated to refer the case in spite of his own strong opinion, and the High Court had taken divergent views as to their right to interfere with the verdict. The Government of India, after a careful consideration of the arguments laid before them, came to the conclusion that if the jury system is ever to become in India a real and effective part of the machinery of the administration of justice, it must be reformed. As a first step towards a comprehensive reform, and in order that the system of trial by jury in Bengal should be made uniform with the system which prevails in other Provinces of the Empire, the Government of India consented to the proposal of the Government of Bengal, that certain offences in the districts in which the jury system prevailed should be removed from the cognisance of a jury. When the system of trial by jury was intro-

Restrictions
in the Jury
system in
Bengal.

duced into the North-West Provinces, these same offences were also excluded from the cognisance of a jury, and, in the Presidency of Madras, the class of offences triable by jury has always been strictly confined to certain offences against property, of which theft is an element. But the restrictions imposed by the Bengal Government on trial by jury in certain districts of the Provinces were unfortunately regarded, without sufficient foundation for the belief, as an attempt to abolish trial by jury, and led to public opinion being greatly disturbed. The Government of India, taking into consideration the state of feeling in Bengal, and holding the opinion that the first steps towards a reform affecting the administration of justice throughout India must be tentative and capable of being varied, determined to appoint a Commission to thoroughly investigate the subject. They felt that a representative Commission would command the confidence of all classes of the community, and they trusted that their report would be a guide in enabling them to extend, without defeating justice, the system of trial by jury to all parts of the Empire which do not now enjoy the privilege. As the Report of the Commission dealt with the jury system in the whole of India, the Government of India concurred in the proposal of the Government of Bengal, that the changes made in the list of offences triable by jury should be withdrawn, pending the consideration of the report and the drafting of a comprehensive scheme of reform. The opinion of the Local Governments and Judges of the High Court have been invited on the Report of the Commission.

The Anti-
Cow-killing
Movement.

A movement closely connected with the social and caste prejudices of Hindu society has deeply engaged the attention of Government. Some years ago societies, with the object of preserving from unnecessary cruelty or harm the cow, which is regarded with veneration and affection by all orthodox Hindus, were organised. Preachers were sent by these societies throughout the different Provinces of the Empire to inculcate the duty

of treating cattle with kindness and of providing an asylum for sick and infirm animals. A movement, the original object of which was both lawful and laudable, however began in course of time to be converted into a social and spiritual despotism. The societies which were at the beginning voluntary associations assumed the organization of a league. Contributions were made compulsory on all Hindus under the terrible penalty of exclusion from caste, and agents were appointed to collect them. By boycotting and intimidation attempts were made to enforce the rules of the societies. Hot-headed religious propagandists and crafty political agitators roused the irregular and impulsive passions of a docile, industrious but ignorant and fanatical people. Religious passion created a desire to entirely suppress the slaughter of kine for food or sacrificial purposes and to effect this suppression by coercive and violent measures. The Mahomedans resented any attempt made to interfere with their customary ritual, and an increased bitterness of feeling arose between the two great religious denominations, which produced fatal effects. For three days Bombay, the second city of the Empire, was a prey to anarchy, and riots resulting in serious loss of life took place in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces. By the prompt and vigorous action of the authorities the disturbances were suppressed, and Lord Lansdowne, in his reply to an address from the Municipal Board of Agra, proclaimed in the plainest language that the Government of India has no intention of permitting these exhibitions of lawlessness to be renewed. His Lordship said: "Our policy is one of strict neutrality and toleration, but that toleration does not extend to disorder and crime, and, whoever is at the head of affairs in India, depend upon it that disorder and crime will be put down with a strong and fearless hand." The Viceroy proceeded to point out that the Government of India is under a two-fold obligation. "We owe it," Lord Lansdowne said, "to the whole community, British and Indian, to

secure the public safety, and to protect the persons and property of the Queen's subjects from injury and interference. We are also bound to secure to both the great religious denominations freedom from molestation or persecution in the exercise of their religious observances. The law secures to the Mahomedans the right of following the ritual which has been customary for them and for their forefathers; while it secures to the Hindus protection from outrage and insult, and, for this reason, forbids the slaughter of cattle with unnecessary publicity, or in such a manner as to occasion wanton and malicious annoyance to their feelings. Let both sides understand clearly that no lawless or aggressive conduct, on their part, will induce us to depart by an inch from this just and honourable policy. Do not let it be supposed that the slaughter of kine for the purpose of sacrifice, or for food, will ever be put a stop to: we shall protect the religions of both sides alike, and we shall punish, according to the law, any act which wantonly outrages the religious feelings of any section of the community. Let it also be clearly understood that we shall not permit any disturbance of the peace, and that, whenever violence is exhibited, we shall not be afraid to put it down by force." Lord Lansdowne, though prepared to put down violence by force and determined to punish acts of fanaticism according to the law, "strongly deprecated," to use his own words, "any extensive or radical changes in the law until it has been demonstrated that the existing law is powerless to deal with these evils." "I would infinitely prefer," His Lordship added, "to rely upon the good sense and moderation of the people themselves and upon vigorous and determined executive action, based upon the law as it now exists, than upon special legislation, and I am not without hopes that both sides have now realized the folly of their conduct, and will join us in discouraging similar exhibitions of sectional hatred and lawlessness." In pursuance of this policy, the acknowledged leaders of the people have been

invited to form conciliation committees for the various disturbed villages with a view to adjust their differences, to ascertain and record the customs with regard to the slaughter of kine and to adhere to them in the future without, on the one hand, giving unnecessary offence to the Hindus or, on the other, interfering with the liberty of Mahomedans. A great success has crowned these measures, and it does not appear over sanguine to estimate that in a short time there will be a cessation of the existing bitter feeling between the two great religious denominations.

By the Indian Councils Act of 1861 the functions of the Legislative Councils were strictly and narrowly limited to those of assisting the Government of India in the work of legislation. They were absolutely precluded from asking for information or enquiring into matters of interest, and even regarding the question of finance, which is the foundation of all regular Government; they were precluded from entering into any discussion unless financial legislation of some kind was proposed. During the quarter of a century which preceded the administration of Lord Lansdowne, the Budget had been discussed in Council only upon twelve occasions, while in the remaining years no such discussion had been allowed to take place. His Excellency never concealed his opinion, "that it was improper as well as illogical" that the right to discuss the financial policy of Government should be frequently denied merely upon a technical ground. "The right to discuss and to criticise," His Excellency stated, "is one which should be either altogether withheld or altogether conceded. The previous arrangement, under which it has been exercised one year, and held in abeyance the next, is altogether indefensible." By the new Indian Councils Act, 1892, which was pressed upon the attention of the Imperial Parliament by the Government of Lord Lansdowne, the right to discuss questions of financial policy has been altogether conceded. "These financial

Legislative Councils.

Changes in the functions of the Legislative Council.

discussions," His Excellency said in a speech which he made regarding the Act, "will now take place with regularity, and not upon sufferance, and I feel no doubt that both the public and the Government of India will gain, the one by the keener knowledge and insight into public affairs which it will obtain, the other by the increased opportunity which will be given to it of explaining its position and defending its policy."

The new Indian Councils Act gave the Members of the Legislative Councils not only the right of financial discussion but also of interpellation. Rules of a simple and brief nature for the exercise of these valuable privileges have been framed. The rules for the discussion of the Financial Budget lay down (i) that the statement shall be explained in Council every year, and a printed copy given to each Member; (ii) after the explanation has been made each Member shall be at liberty to offer any observation he may wish to make on the statement; and that (iii) the Financial Member shall have the right of reply, and the discussion shall be closed by the President making such observations, if any, as he may consider necessary. With reference to the asking of questions the rule has been passed that at least six days' notice shall ordinarily be given in writing of any questions which an Honourable Member intends to ask; but that the President may, if he thinks fit, allow a question to be asked with shorter notice, should the circumstance demand it. The Government of India has also laid down that questions must be so framed as to be merely requests for information, and must not be put in an argumentative or hypothetical form, or in defamatory language. No discussion is allowed in respect of an answer given to a question. These two restrictions are substantially identical with those under which questions may be put to Her Majesty's Government in the British House of Commons.

The new Act has introduced changes not only in the functions of the Legislative Councils, but also in their constitution. It has provided for a substantial increase in the number of Additional Members, and has conferred upon the Governor-General in Council the power of making regulations as to the conditions under which such members shall be nominated. The Government of Lord Lansdowne, when the measure was under the consideration of the Secretary of State and Her Majesty's Government, while it insisted upon the ultimate responsibility of the Government for these nominations, constantly urged that any Bill which might be passed, should render it possible for the Governor-General and for the heads of Local Governments to have recourse to the advice of suitable constituencies. The Government of India have freely availed themselves of the power thus conferred upon them, and have framed regulations by which the number of non-official members has been materially increased, and thus the first steps have been taken towards introducing the electoral system into the institutions of India. The privilege of selecting and recommending members for the Imperial Legislative Council has been bestowed on the Local Legislatures of the four provinces having Local Councils, and upon the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. A like privilege has been bestowed upon the Corporation of Calcutta, the Senate of the University of Calcutta, the Trade Associations, and the groups of Municipal Corporations and District Boards with regard to the selection and recommendation of members for the Bengal Legislative Council. Rules conceived in the same liberal spirit have been drawn up for Madras, Bombay and the North-West Provinces and Oudh. As Lord Lansdowne said in the speech which signalised the close of his Viceroyalty, it would "be impossible to overrate the importance of infusing new life into these Councils both by enlarging their functions and by so modifying their constitution as to include within them a certain number of members

Changes in the constitution of the Legislative Councils.

Electoral system introduced into the Legislative Councils.

owing their appointment to the recommendation of other bodies rather than to nomination by the Government." There is no part of the scheme for which Lord Lansdowne has a greater personal responsibility than that in which this principle is admitted, and all who desire the success of a measure which is in accordance with England's policy will share in the hope and trust expressed by him in the parting words which he addressed to the Imperial Council: "I earnestly trust that this Council, strengthened as it has lately been by the extension of its functions, and by the addition to its ranks of a larger number of representative members, some of whom will owe their presence to the recommendation of their fellow-citizens, will enjoy an ever-increasing share of public confidence, that it will conduct its deliberations with wisdom, dignity and moderation, and that it will prove to be a new source of stability and usefulness to the institutions of this country."

**Provincial
Services.**

During the past five years a considerable advance has been made not only in inviting the Natives of India to participate more freely in the legislation of the country, but in associating them with the administration. Ninety-three offices, which hitherto have only been held by members of the Covenanted Civil Service, have been declared open to members of the different Provincial Services, and rules for the constitution and improvement of the status of the Provincial and Subordinate Services have been settled by the Government of India in communication with the Local Governments and Administrations.

Military.

If the Civil administration has occupied the best attention of Government, and changes and improvements have been made to adapt it to the needs of the people, the military administration has also received its full share of consideration and amendment.

**Abolition of
the Presiden-
tial Army
system.**

The Presidential system of the Armies in India had, owing to the changes which have taken place, become an anomaly, and a reform was demanded both on the

grounds of economy and efficiency. The Army Organisation Commission of 1879 had strongly condemned the continuance of this obsolete system, and the Government of India frequently brought the matter to the notice of the Secretary of State and Her Majesty's Government. During the administration of Lord Dufferin, the Government of India recommended that there should be four armies, *viz.*, the Punjab, Hindustan, Bombay, and Madras Armies, that Baluchistan and Sind should form part of the Bombay Command, and that Burma should continue to be joined to Madras. When Lord Lansdowne assumed the reins of office, the subject received his earliest attention, and in 1892 the expediency of abolishing the Presidential Army system was again urged upon the Secretary of State. As Her Majesty's Government approved of the reform, a Bill was brought forward and passed by Parliament for giving effect to the proposals of the Government of India. When the Madras and Bombay Armies Act of 1893 comes into operation, the offices of Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, respectively, will be abolished, and the officers holding the offices of Commanders-in-Chief of the Forces in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay will cease to be Members of the Council of the Governors of Madras and Bombay respectively. The Military control and authority exerciseable by the Governors in Council of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay will cease to be exercised by the Governors, and will be exerciseable by the Governor-General of India in Council. In future there will be one Army for the whole of India organized in four large commands—Madras, Bombay, Bengal, and the North-West Provinces and Punjab. These will be commanded by Lieutenant-Generals under the Commander-in-Chief. The Bengal Army will not cease to exist, but will be divided for administrative purposes into two commands.

Madras and
Bombay
Armies Act.

The maintenance of three separate staff corps also involved much that was anomalous and inconvenient,

The Indian
Staff Corps.

and the Government of India in 1890 recommended that the Bengal, Madras, and Bombay Staff Corps should be amalgamated, and the designation "Staff Corps" changed to that of "Her Majesty's Indian Army." The amalgamation of the three Staff Corps under the designation of "The Indian Staff Corps" was approved and notified in the Royal Warrant, dated 28th January 1891.

Class
Regiments.

The question of class regiments, that is, the bringing together of one particular class or caste into a regiment instead of its organisation by class companies, or in a "general mixture," is a subject which has been greatly discussed for many years. The general consensus of opinion among regimental officers is that the class system is the best for fighting efficiency; next in order of favor comes the class company arrangement, and last of all the general mixture. It is obvious, however, that it would be difficult, as indeed it is undesirable, to apply any one system to the whole native army of India, composed as it is of men drawn from so many different races and professing different creeds. Thus, while in the Madras Army it might be perfectly safe to constitute class regiments composed of Tamils, Telugus, Pariahs, and people like the Moplahs or Coorgs, it might be impolitic and inexpedient to introduce a similar measure in other parts of India. Some of the best regiments in the Punjab are class regiments. On the other hand, there are many good regiments which are class company regiments; but the latest development has been the reconstitution of 16 battalions of Hindustani regiments into class regiments of Brahmins, Rajputs, Jats, Mahomedans, and Gurkhas. The purely military advantages are undoubtedly on the side of class regiments; the comfort and welfare of the men are more assured in such regiments than in class company regiments; there is greater *esprit de corps*; and promotions can be more satisfactorily arranged. On the other hand, while from a political point of view it may be said that the Government know

exactly what regiments they can employ in certain situations and how far such regiments can be used in particular parts of the country during particular disturbances, it may be quite true that a class regiment may be more rapidly infected by movements among people of their own class or creed, and there may be more difficulty in officers obtaining information as to what is going on in a class regiment than in a class company regiment, where there are so many different interests and jealousies. On the whole, it may be said that, while there is no real danger in applying the class regiment system to a considerable portion of the army in India, it would be impolitic to constitute the whole army on this system.

For some years past the policy of the Government of India has been to improve the material of which the army is composed, by substituting men of warlike races for those drawn from countries, the inhabitants of which under the civilizing development of British rule have gradually applied themselves in the course of years to peaceful instead of to martial pursuits. It is obvious, however, that this policy cannot be carried beyond a certain point, as although from a military point of view it may be desirable to have the finest soldiers that India can produce, political considerations forbid confidence being reposed entirely on one particular class or race, and the difficulty is to form a force in which no particular race shall be of preponderant strength. In the Bengal army, during Lord Lansdowne's administration, several infantry regiments have been reformed of northern races only, while in the Madras army seven battalions of infantry have been reconstituted by transforming battalions of military police composed of Gurkhas, Sikhs, Punjabis and other hardy and valiant races into local battalions for service in Burma. In the same way in the Bombay army some of the less efficient classes have been replaced by the more warlike tribes of northern India, by converting two of the regiments into local

Recruitment
of warlike
classes.

corps for service in Baluchistan. But, in addition to these measures, the general improvement of the Madras and Bombay armies has been undertaken, the directions in which a change for the better will be made being in the system of recruiting, and the obtaining of the raw material, and possibly in forming class company regiments—a system which has answered very well in the Bengal army—instead of what is known as the “general mixture” system. But these proposals are as yet somewhat undefined, and much has to be done before they can be carried into effect. The general result, however, of the substitution of better material for the less efficient classes, is to render the army a more perfect fighting machine, to obtain the desired result of being able to employ any portion of the army on any service, and to arrange its constituent parts so that when the field army is withdrawn the classes constituting the remaining garrison of India will fairly balance each other and none will be pre-eminently powerful.

Volunteers
Corps.

The question of increasing and rendering more efficient the auxiliary branch of the army has received the best attention of Government. Two Committees of representative Volunteer officers were appointed to consider and report on various important questions connected with the subject. Their recommendations were forwarded to the Government of India, but, owing to the want of funds, some of the more important of them only have been sanctioned.

Improvement
in the
position of
the Native
and
European
Soldier.

The position of the native soldier has been in many ways improved. The system of granting lands to Native officers has been placed on a satisfactory footing, and the scheme for the employment of pensioned Native soldiers has been greatly developed. The condition of the British soldier has also received liberal improvement. For many years past, libraries, recreation rooms, workshops, gardens, and cricket grounds have been established; but it was not till 1887 that at the instance and under the guidance of Lord Roberts, then Com-

mandar-in-Chief in India, a further development was made by bringing together the various regimental clubs and forming them into what are now called regimental institutes. The aim and object of these institutes was to improve the social condition of the soldier and to reduce intemperance by the provision of such reasonable comfort and physical as well as mental recreation as to make them a centre of attraction and so lessen the habit of seeking entertainment elsewhere. The plan has been carried out in nearly every regiment stationed in India, and has proved most successful.

If much has been done to increase the efficiency and organization of our Native Army, a similar progress has been made towards improving the training and equipment of the troops which loyal Feudatory States have placed under the discipline of English officers in order that they may be competent to take their place in the defence of the Indian Empire. It was at the close of his administration that Lord Dufferin announced his intention "of asking those Chiefs who have specially good fighting material in their armies to raise a portion of these armies to such a pitch of general efficiency as will make them fit to go into action side by side with Imperial troops." Lord Dufferin's speech was followed by large offers from the principal Native States of all parts of India, but the policy of the Government of Lord Lansdowne has been "on no account to accept assistance of this kind from the Feudatory States, except in cases where there is the clearest possible evidence to show first, that the Ruler of the State in question is honestly and sincerely desirous of placing his troops at our disposal, and esteems it an honour to have these troops brought into a line with those of the Imperial Government; secondly, that such service will not impose too heavy a burden on the State, and that there is to be found amongst its people a genuine loyal desire to accept such service; and thirdly, that there exists in the troops themselves that military spirit so conspicuous in some of

the races of India, which has given to our Native Armies some of the finest fighting material in the world. The essence of the whole scheme is that there should be no compulsion in the matter, and that only those States should be singled out, which are not only willing but anxious to bear their part with us in defending the Empire in the hour of need!" In pursuance of the policy laid down by Lord Lansdowne, the organization of the Imperial troops was first begun in the Punjab States, Kashmir and Ulwar, and afterwards extended to the other Rajput States and Gwalior. The movement now also embraces the States of Bhopal, Rampur, Mysore, Hyderabad, Indore, and Kathiawar. There are at present under training 8,348 cavalry, 8,887 infantry, 300 artillery, comprising the 1st and 2nd Kashmir Battery, 150 Sirmour sappers, 500 Bikaner Camel Corps, and 950 men belonging to the excellent transport corps in Jeypur and Gwalior. During the past five years the Imperial troops have reached a high state of efficiency. The discipline, both in the field on the Gilgit frontier and in British territory when brigaded with our troops at camps of exercise, has been found admirable. During the manœuvres of the winter of 1892-93 most of the Imperial Service troops came under the inspection of Lord Roberts and the General Officers Commanding the various camps of exercise assembled in India. The reports received from the ex-Commander-in-Chief and all General Officers concerning the Imperial Service troops has been highly satisfactory, and a place has been allotted to them in the plans for mobilisation.

Mobilisation
of the Army.

The whole army of India consists of about 180,000 native troops, including the reserves and Imperial Service forces, and about 100,000 British troops and volunteers, making a grand total of 280,000 men. The object of the plan of mobilisation which was initiated in 1886, and has since been steadily persevered with, was to lay down certain standards of organisation for service

within or beyond the frontiers of India, or beyond sea; to prepare plans of movement in various directions for a certain portion of the army which could be withdrawn for field service, and to elaborate the innumerable details which are necessary to complete a plan of this kind. Mobilisation in India is a thousand-fold more difficult than mobilisation in a European continental country, because the troops forming the army cannot be distributed territorially in equal proportions throughout the Empire of India; they cannot be located within certain small areas, but reliefs have to take place over great distances, and sanitary, military, and political considerations rather than the mere facilities for mobilisation govern the distribution of the troops. Notwithstanding these difficulties steady progress has been made so that about one-fourth or, say, 70,000 men of the army of India could be put in motion for field service in India or beyond it without confusion and with reasonable regularity and despatch. Large quantities of transport, equipment and stores have been collected at various strategic points; all the corps composing this field army are annually warned and receive their equipment for active service or know exactly where to obtain it. The staff and army departments are told off, and precise regulations have been adopted in every branch of the service; railway time-tables for the movement of this large body of men over long distances have been prepared; the stations from which the troops would be withdrawn to form the field army are all fixed, and although it can hardly be said that every provision necessary to enable the whole force to march has been made, it may yet be safely asserted that the preparations have so far advanced that, by the time the first two divisions have moved off, the remaining divisions would be nearly ready to take the field. In fact, it may be said that the policy of preparation has successfully replaced the want of forethought which has in earlier years marked the military administration in India.

Defences of
the Empire.

In 1880 the permanent Defence Committee was formed to consider the question of the coast and inland defences of India, which had for many years past been the subject of a discussion not very fruitful of results. But two years elapsed before steps were taken to re-organise the sub-marine mining defences of the ports, and it was not until 1885 that the question of the coast and frontier defences of India was taken up in earnest. The approach of a great European military power towards the frontier of the Empire, and the complications that ensued between that Power and Afghanistan, determined the Government of India and Her Majesty's Government to create and carry out a plan for the defence of the ports and frontiers of India. During the last eight or nine years a great deal has been done to render the harbours of India safe and its frontiers secure. Changes of opinion have taken place as to the particular measures to be adopted, but the broad facts remain that not only have the important ports of Karachi, Bombay, Calcutta, and Rangoon been completely defended, their fortifications adequately armed, and a defence squadron created, but on the north-west frontier the main lines of approach to India have been safeguarded by the completion of the defences covering Quetta against an advance by the western line of approach. The second line, including the great bridge heads on the Indus at Sukkur and at Attock, has also been constructed, and the defences of the important strategic centre of Rawal Pindi barring an advance through the Punjab to the fertile plains of Hindustan, have been so far completed that they could at any time be finished with comparative promptitude. Rawal Pindi and Multan constitute what may be called the third line of defence, and a careful and detailed plan of defence for Multan has been prepared. The right flank of the position is rendered secure not only by the natural difficulty of the country, but by the measures which have been undertaken for its safety, and by the preparation

of plans of defence which can be carried out whenever the time approaches for active measures to be undertaken. The fortified positions at Landi Kotal and at Jamrud at the head and debouché of the Khaibar Pass, respectively, afford sufficient *points d'appui* upon which additional works would be constructed upon the occurrence of any emergency.

To ensure the internal peace of a continent, to guard Finance. its frontier from foreign aggression, to develop the resources of the land by works of public improvement, to meet the ever-increasing requirements of Government as civilisation advances, from a revenue which fluctuates from causes over which the administration has no control, has been the difficult task which has awaited Lord Lansdowne and his immediate predecessors. When Lord Lansdowne received charge of the Empire, the four years from 1884-85 to 1887-88 had left deficits aggregating Rx. 5 millions. The last Budget of Lord Dufferin's administration disclosed a small surplus of about Rx. 37,000. The first three years of Lord Lansdowne's administration showed a surplus aggregating Rx. 6½ millions. The close of the year 1892-93, however, revealed a deficit of Rx. 1 million, and the Budget of 1893-94 as originally framed disclosed a deficit of over a million and a half. The cause of the deficits lay largely in the increasing burden of the Home charges due to the continued fall in the value of silver, and Lord Currency. Lansdowne was thus called upon to deal with a recurring and growing deficit, the prevention of which was beyond the power of Government. In the early part of 1892, His Lordship's attention was called by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce to the inconvenience and impediments to trade caused by the great and increasing fluctuations in the gold value of silver and the heavy fall in the exchange value of the rupee. The Chamber urged that as the United States had invited the Powers to another Conference for the purpose of considering the monetary question, the Government of India should take advan-

tage of the opportunity to promote an international agreement for the free coinage of gold and silver at a fixed ratio, and that failing any such agreement, steps should be taken to have the question of a gold standard for India carefully and seriously considered by competent authorities. The views expressed by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce were in accord with those which, owing to the state of the finances and the trade of the country, had presented themselves to Lord Lansdowne and his Council. In March 1892, the Secretary of State was addressed by the Government of India on the subject, and it was suggested that any proposals that might be put forward by the United States or any other Government for the holding of an International Conference should meet with the strongest support. In June 1892, the Government of India further suggested that if it became evident that an International Conference was unlikely to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, and if a direct agreement between India and the United States was found to be unattainable, the Indian mints should be closed to the unrestricted coinage of silver for the public, and arrangements made to introduce a gold standard.

Indian
Currency
Association.

The suggestions put forward in the foregoing despatches were in accord with public opinion in India. The rapid fall in the value of silver had led to the formation of the Indian Currency Association for the purpose of agitating for a reform of the Indian Currency. The members of the Association belonged to all sections of the community and local branches were formed at all important centres of trade. From the Currency Association and its branches, from the Chambers of Commerce at Bombay and Karachi, and from other important commercial bodies, the Government received earnest representations regarding the injury caused to trade by the constant fluctuation of the gold value of the rupee and the essential need of steps being taken to remedy the evil. The Association also presented a memorial to the House of Commons, praying that if the International

Conference to which the United States had invited the other Governments should fail, the Government of India should be allowed a free hand for the readjustment of its Currency system by the adoption of a gold standard.

On the 22nd of November 1892 the International Conference met at Brussels and separated on the 17th of December, without having come to any agreement. It was proposed that they should reassemble on the 30th of May if the Governments referred to should agree to the proposition.

International Congress.

Before the International Conference had met at Brussels, Her Majesty's Government had decided to appoint a Committee, presided over by the Lord Chancellor, to consider the proposals of the Government of India for the adoption of a gold standard for India, in case it was impossible to secure the international adoption of the double standard. The proposals made by the Government of India were—

Committee to enquire into the Indian Currency.

Measures proposed by Government.

- (1) the stoppage by legislative enactment of the unrestricted coinage of silver at the Indian mints; and
- (2) the grant of power to the Government of India to declare by notification that sovereigns were legal tender in India at a rate not exceeding 1s. 6d. per rupee.

It was not proposed that the mints should be opened to the free coinage of gold as soon as they were closed to silver, or that a ratio should be declared at once between gold and the rupee; but it was intended that the effect of closing the mints should be watched for some time, and, if it should be found that the rate of exchange was rising to an undesirable extent, that the Government should check the rise by declaring the sovereign to be legal tender at a certain rate. The highest rate which it was proposed the Government of India were to be authorized to declare under any circumstances was 1s. 6d. per rupee.

On the 31st of May, by which date it had become manifest that there was little probability of the Inter-

Report of the Committee.

national Conference again meeting, the Committee submitted their report. They came to the unanimous conclusion that, considering the serious evils with which the Government of India might at any time be confronted if matters were left as they were, they could not advise the Secretary of State for India to overrule the proposals for the closing of the mints and the adoption of a gold standard. The Committee, however, considered that the following modifications of the proposals of the Government of India were advisable. "The closing of the mints against the free coinage of silver should be accompanied by an announcement that, though closed to the public, they will be used by the Government for the coinage of rupees in exchange for gold at a ratio to be then fixed, say 1*s.* 4*d.* per rupee; and that at the Government treasuries gold will be received in satisfaction of public dues at the same ratio." The Government of India accepted those modifications, and, Her Majesty's Government approving of them, sanction was given for immediate steps being taken to give effect to the scheme.

Closing of
the Indian
Mints.

(Act VIII of
1893.)

On the 26th June 1893 a Bill providing for the closing of the Indian mints to the unrestricted coinage of silver for the public was introduced in the Legislative Council of the Governor-General and passed into law the same day. Executive orders were issued simultaneously providing (1) for the receipt of gold coin and gold bullion at the mints in exchange for rupees at a ratio of 1*s.* 4*d.* per rupee; (2) for the receipt of sovereigns and half-sovereigns of current weight at treasuries in payment of Government dues at the rate of fifteen rupees for a sovereign and seven and-a-half rupees for a half-sovereign; and (3) for the issue of currency notes in Calcutta and Bombay in exchange for gold coin or gold bullion at the rate of one rupee for 1*s.* 4*d.*

Gold has not for the present been made a legal tender, and the intention to take power to declare sovereigns legal tender at any rate not exceeding 1*s.* 6*d.* per rupee has been abandoned. The making of gold legal tender

and the ratio of exchange as compared with the rupee at which gold shall be made legal tender will be settled hereafter in the light of future experience. Sufficient time has not elapsed since the Bill became law to warrant any fruitful discussion as to the effects of these momentous measures on the trade or finances of India.

The closing of the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver is the prominent feature in the financial administration of Lord Lansdowne. There are, however, other important measures which deserve to be commemorated. The conversion of the outstanding $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. loan into the 4 per cent. loan afforded substantial relief to the straitened finances. The experiment in 1893 of raising a loan at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. has, though made at a time when the conditions were not favourable, proved so substantial a success that it may be treated, as it was intended by the Government, as the precursor of a general conversion of the 4 per cent. to the lower rates.

Conversion
of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per
cent. Loan.
Issue of $3\frac{1}{2}$
per cent.
Loan.

This summary having noted the chief measures which have been taken during the past five years for the improvement of the administrative machinery, the development of the country and the strengthening of its military power and defences, may fairly close with a brief sketch of the foreign policy of the Government of India during the same period. The Indian Foreign Office, which is under the special charge of the Viceroy, is entrusted with the duty of directing our diplomatic relations,—first, with all the dependent Princes and Chiefs of India, and, secondly, with all neighbouring Foreign Powers beyond the limits of Hindustan.

Foreign
policy.

The general principles which have guided Lord Lansdowne in his dealings with the Feudatory Chiefs is best illustrated by an extract from a speech which he delivered at a banquet given in his honour at Hyderabad: "I have always recognized," His Excellency said, "the advantages of the arrangement under which a considerable portion of the Indian Empire continues to be governed by its hereditary rulers, and to be subject to

Feudatory
Chiefs.

forms of administration, differing, to a considerable extent, from our own, but inspired by our proximity and stimulated by our example. No one would be more averse than I should be to any changes in our relations with the Native States inconsistent with the measure of local autonomy which they now enjoy. It is because I entertain these feelings so strongly that I am anxious to see the government of these States carried out upon sound principles, and in such a manner as to place it beyond the power of any one to say that the Government of India, in arresting, as it has striven to arrest, the process by which the greater part of the territories of India were passing under the direct rule of the Crown, showed itself unmindful of the welfare of the millions of people who still remain outside the limits of British India." By advice and by example Lord Lansdowne has striven to impose upon the Native Chiefs the duty of being ever careful to promote the welfare of their subjects, and in order that by friendly intercourse he might gain their friendship and influence their action, he has visited the capitals of the leading States and welcomed all to the capital of the Empire.

Tour of 1889.
Durbar at
Quetta.

In the course of his tour in 1889, Lord Lansdowne visited Quetta, and was the first Viceroy to receive at a public Durbar the Khan of Khelat, the Jam of Las Bela and a number of the Chiefs and Sardars of Baluchistan. When the formal ceremonies observed on such occasion had been completed, Lord Lansdowne delivered an address in which he briefly sketched the results of the Treaty which had been executed in 1876 by Lord Lytton, the then Viceroy, and the Khan of Khelat. "They are of a nature" said Lord Lansdowne, "which must, I believe, be entirely satisfactory to all concerned and not least to Your Highness. The Bolan Pass has become a safe and peaceable highway, and Your Highness's wise action in subsequently consenting to the commutation of the transit dues formerly levied upon all commodities conveyed through the Pass has given a

further stimulus to commerce. The heavy cost of this arrangement was cheerfully borne by the British Government in the general interest.

"I believe I am within the mark when I say that there is not a chief or a trader in this part of the country whose wealth has not greatly increased in consequence of these salutary changes, while the mass of the people, released from the dangers and anxieties of internal disputes, have experienced a general and marked advance in well-being and prosperity."

"Other roads besides that through the Bolan Pass have been opened up, and your country has been thrown into direct connection with the commercial enterprise of the Indian Empire."

Lord Lansdowne closed his address by a few words to those Khans, Arbábs, and other chiefs present, who had so lately become subjects of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress of India. "Hardly ten years," the Viceroy said, "have elapsed since the districts of Pishin, Sibi, and Thal Chotiali first came into British possession during the war with Afghanistan. Since then these districts have been formally declared to form part of British India; while more lately the Kakar country and Khetran Valleys have come under our administration. During these years you have had ample opportunity of judging what British rule means. You will, I hope, have learnt that this is founded on justice, that the British Government neither exacts heavy taxes nor interferes with your private affairs, that it has no wish to meddle with your religion, and that it desires to respect your ancient customs, so far as it is possible to respect them without injustice to individuals. The British Government desires to see its subjects prosperous, contented, and happy." The Government has shown its confidence in these new subjects belonging to wild and warlike races by having resort to their co-operation whenever circumstances permitted. "Your local levies," said Lord Lansdowne, "have been employed for the purpose of

maintaining order, and your jirgas for the performance of the ordinary duties of civil administration. In return for these benefits the Government expect from you loyal and faithful service. Such service has, I am glad to know, been rendered by many of you in the past, and I feel convinced that you will not fail to render it again should the opportunity be given to you. Of one thing you may be sure—that the British Government is strong and powerful, and that it does not forget those who have deserved well at its hands.”

Tour of
1890.

Patiala.

Nabha.

The Rajpu-
tana States.
Alwar.

Ajmere.

During the next autumn season Lord Lansdowne made a tour through the Punjab and Rajput States. His Excellency first visited the Patiala State and placed upon the throne the young Maharaja, whose grandfather was so loyal to the Empire in the dark days of the mutiny. After leaving Patiala the Viceroy paid a visit to Nabha, one of the Cis-Sutlej States, whose chief also showed distinguished loyalty at the time of the mutiny. The Viceroy then proceeded to see some of the more important of the Rajput States. At Alwar, which lies under the lee of its hill fort, the Viceroy found the affairs of the State had been carefully administered. Proceeding to Ajmere, one of the most picturesque towns in India, His Excellency distributed the prizes to the students at Mayo College, which bears witness “to the discernment of the British Statesman whose name will, I hope, always remain connected with the College, and to the munificent liberality of the great Rajput Houses to whose generous contributions the College owes these splendid buildings, and the endowment upon which it depends.” In the course of his speech at the distribution of the prizes, His Excellency said: “No educational establishment in India is, in my eyes, more interesting or remarkable than this. It is an attempt to engraft upon the old aristocratic society of Rajputana a form of education adapted to the requirements of that society, but to a large extent derived from, and improved by, that of which we Englishmen are so justly proud—I mean

the kind of education which the flower of our English youth receives at the great public schools." From Ajmere the Viceroy proceeded to Oodeypore, the capital of a State "which has always been regarded as holding a foremost position among the Rajput States of India." Here His Excellency opened the Victoria Hall built to commemorate the Jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. At a banquet given in the Palace His Excellency made special mention of the generosity which the Chief has shown to all useful institutions, "of which, whether within the limits of his State or without them, he has been a most liberal supporter." Early in November the Viceroy arrived at Jodhpore, a fenced city in the desert, and inspected the Imperial Troops. He congratulated His Highness and his brother Sir Pertab Singh on their devotion to military matters not having prevented them from bestowing a close attention upon other questions concerning the welfare and prosperity of the State. "The finances of the State, the condition of which must at one time have occasioned Your Highness some uneasiness, have been placed in order. Crime and out-lawry have, I understand, been put down, and Your Highness's Durbar has bestowed much attention upon the wise project for colonising the criminal tribes. Courts of justice have been established, not only at the capital, but throughout the State, and are working under well-considered arrangements and rules. Nor can I omit a reference to the reforms which have been made in the Customs Department of the State, reforms by means of which many vexatious and unremunerative duties have been abolished, whilst on other articles they have been reduced."

After leaving Jodhpore the Viceroy proceeded to Jeypore. Jeypore, the largest of the Rajput capitals, where he laid the foundation of the twenty-seventh new hospital which has been founded in the State in recent years, and distributed the prizes at the Maharaja's College. "The Jeypore State," His Excellency said,

"has many things to be proud of : it is proud of its large population, the beauty of its capital city and of the many improvements which have been carried out within it; but there is no subject with regard to which the Jeypore State has more right to feel that it occupies a prominent position than the subject of education." The tour was brought to a close by a visit to Agra, where a Durbar was held for the Chiefs and Indian gentlemen of the North-Western Provinces. Many of the Rajput Chiefs were present. At the close of his address the Viceroy acknowledged the personal courtesy to himself and the loyalty to the British Empire displayed by all the ruling Chiefs of Rajputana whom he had met in his tour. "The feelings which they have professed are, I am sure, founded upon a deep conviction that the treatment which they have experienced at the hands of the British Government is such as to justify their entire confidence. They are aware that we desire to offer them all the support and encouragement which we can give, to avoid any encroachment upon their rights, and to maintain their territories intact, and their dignity unsullied."

Durbar at
Agra.

Tour of 1891.

Kashmir.

The third autumn tour of Lord Lansdowne was arranged to include a visit to the Native States of Kashmir, Gwalior, Bhopal, and Indore. Almost from the time of his arrival in India the affairs of Kashmir had constantly engaged the thoughts of the Viceroy. Early in 1889 the Maharaja tendered his resignation of all active participation in the State, and the administration was placed in the hands of a Council consisting of the Maharaja's brothers and certain officials selected from the Indian Services. During the year 1890 the Council effected some substantial reforms. The Viceroy desirous of satisfying himself upon the spot of the extent of these reforms, and whether any measures could be taken towards restoring, to a certain extent, the powers of the Maharaja, accepted the invitation of His Highness to visit the State. While at Srinagar His Excel-

lency announced to the Maharaja that some of the powers which he had resigned would be restored to him, and His Highness became President of the Council. The State has, during the past two years, been making steady progress towards order and efficient administration.

From Kashmir Lord Lansdowne proceeded to the Gwalior. great Mahratta State of Gwalior and there made the acquaintance of the young Maharaja Sindhia. The administration of the State during the minority of His Highness has been in the hands of a Council, and during the past five years a new and scientific system of revenue survey has made considerable progress, works of public improvement have been constructed, the number of schools increased and dispensaries established. In April 1893 the Maharaja was placed in charge of the Palace Department, and he has since been recently entrusted with the management of a district, so as to afford him an opportunity of gaining an insight into the work of administration.

After staying a short time at Gwalior, Lord Lans- Bhopal. downe went to Bhopal, and at a State banquet given in his honour, His Excellency congratulated Her Highness the Begam, who was present, on the conspicuous success of her administration. His Excellency said "she has shown herself to be a wise and sagacious ruler, and she has contributed largely towards the welfare of the State by her generous support of many very good and useful works. She has assisted liberally in the development of the railway system of this part of India; she has constructed roads, built hospitals, secured for the people of Bhopal an invaluable supply of good water; and only to-day she has intimated to me her desire that the Government of India should take advantage of an offer which she had made some time ago to place a part of the military forces of her State at the disposal of the Government for the purpose of Imperial defence." The third tour of Lord Lansdowne was brought to a close by a visit to Indore.

Tour of 1892.

Hyderabad.

During his fourth autumn tour the Viceroy paid a visit to the important Mussalman State of Hyderabad, which has an area of 100,000 square miles and a population considerably more than double that of the whole of Australia, and of that of the vast dominion of Canada.

Mysore.

During his stay at his capital, Lord Lansdowne advised the Nizam "to look carefully to his finances," and to turn his attention towards reducing the number of the badly trained irregular troops, which are a heavy burden on the exchequer of the State. After spending a few days at Hyderabad, Lord Lansdowne proceeded to Mysore, the State which eleven years ago Her Majesty's Government, after administering it for half a century, determined to replace in the charge of an India ruler. The step was a most momentous one, but it has been justified by the able administration of the present Ruler. "He has proved himself," said Lord Lansdowne at Mysore, "an intelligent and upright Ruler, who has, from the commencement of his reign, shown himself alive to the duties of his position. His Highness has received an education which has enabled him to profit by the culture and wider political ideas of the West, but he has not lost touch with his own people, or forfeited their confidence; and there is probably no State in India where ruler and ruled are on more satisfactory terms, or in which the great principle, upon which His Highness has insisted, that government should be for the happiness of the governed, receives a greater measure of practical recognition." During the administration of His Highness the Maharaja much progress has been made in the construction of irrigation works, and on the Mysore State Railway alone he has spent no less than 150 lakhs of rupees. "In many other directions," to quote the words of Lord Lansdowne, "His Highness the Maharaja has shown himself mindful of the best interests of the people committed to his charge. Good progress has been made with the important work of revenue settlement, which was only half completed when His Highness succeeded; new roads

have been constructed ; hospitals and dispensaries have been opened ; attention has been paid to the improvement of the breeds of cattle ; the enterprise of the miner and the planter have been encouraged. Last, but not least, the State has liberally encouraged educational institutions ; and I may refer with special interest to the schools for girls, with which the name of Her Highness the Maharani will always be honourably connected."

The last tour made by Lord Lansdowne was to Tour of 1893.
Burma—a province of the Empire whose pacification Burma. and administration he had closely watched from the commencement of his Viceroyalty. At Rangoon he held a Durbar for the presenting of native titles and the reception of addresses. After the Durbar was declared to be closed, His Excellency unveiled a memorial to the members of the Civil Administration who lost their lives during the early years of the annexation of Upper Burma. Thirty-three names are inscribed on the monument. "You will find among them," said Lord Lansdowne, "side by side, the names of Englishmen, of natives of India, and of natives of this country. It is a melancholy satisfaction to think that, upon an occasion of this kind, we should be able to do equal honour to the representatives of the three races. May this recognition of the good service which they rendered be an incentive to all the Queen's subjects in Burma, without distinction of race or creed, to live, and, if necessary, to die for the sake of the Empire of which, I believe, the Province is proud to form a part."

From Rangoon the Viceroy proceeded to Man- Mandalay.
dalay, where a Durbar was held in the Audience Hall of the Palace, at which certain native gentlemen on whom distinctions had been conferred were decorated, and a memorial from certain residents at Mandalay was received. In the speech in which he addressed the Durbar His Excellency made mention of the measures which had been taken since the annexation to increase the welfare and comfort of the people. He drew attention

to the important fact that "all the great dacoit gangs which infested the province at the time of annexation, and which continued their depredations in the earlier years of our rule, have been disturbed and suppressed."

Bhamo.

From Mandalay Lord Lansdowne proceeded by river to Bhamo. The day after his arrival a Durbar was held on the upper deck of the Chief Commissioner's barge. An address of welcome from the Burmese inhabitants of Bhamo and a memorial setting forth the wants and grievances of the Chinese residents were presented. In his reply to the latter His Excellency said: "There are two reasons for which the British Government desires to treat the Chinese traders with justice and consideration. One is that they belong to a great nation—the Chinese nation—with which the British Government has friendly relations, and between which and the British Government there is no ill-will whatever. Besides this, the British Government recognises that the Chinese traders are a very industrious and useful class, and that they deserve what encouragement we can give them because of the services which they render to the public in promoting the interests of commerce. I would beg them, therefore, to dismiss from their minds the idea that there is any desire on our part to oppress them, or to give them any but the fairest and most just treatment in Bhamo."

The Chinese deputation having retired, the leading Kachin chiefs present in Bhamo were introduced to the Viceroy. At the conclusion of the presentation, His Excellency delivered a speech, which was translated into their language. His Excellency said: "I wish you to know that the Government of India has no desire to interfere with your private affairs, but that wherever our administration extends, crime and disorder must be suppressed. There must be no attacks on caravans; there must be no dacoities, or raids on villages in the plains; there must be no resistance to the lawful authority of the officers placed over you; in respect of

these matters there must be no doubt in your minds. We have no desire to harass the Kachins, to drive them from their hills, or to oppress them; on the contrary, so long as the lawful orders given to you are obeyed, you will be more secure than you have ever been in the enjoyment of all your just rights and privileges; you will be permitted to live in peace and to cultivate your taungyas in the hills; you will be able to come freely into the towns and villages to trade and to obtain the necessaries of life; and if you desire to do so, you will be permitted to settle on the plain, and will be given lands for cultivation."

In the speeches which His Excellency the Viceroy ^{Manipur.} has made during his tours through the Native States, the principle has been laid down that while the British Government is anxious to continue the protected sovereignty of the Native States, and is in no way desirous to interfere with their internal administration, it cannot tolerate anarchy, and is bound to insist that the government be conducted for the interest and good of the people. During the past five years the Government of India has twice been compelled to give effect to these principles, but though it has been forced to interfere with the administration of the States, it has taken the utmost care to preserve their autonomy.

In September 1890, in the small hill State of Manipur, situated on the borders of Assam, the reigning chief was deposed by his brother the Senapati or Commander-in-Chief, a cruel scoundrel who had been in exile for two years for one of his brutal murders, and a Regent placed on the throne. As the Maharaja had proved a weak and incompetent ruler, the Government of India came to the conclusion that it would be to the interest of the State to acknowledge the Regent, but that the Senapati to whom the revolution was due, should be sent into exile. To have allowed him to enjoy the fruit of his rebellion would have been an acknowledgment that the British Government tolerated anarchy in Native States. The Government of India ordered

the Chief Commissioner of Assam to proceed to Manipur to carry out the decision, and he was directed to take with him a sufficient force to overawe the conspirators. On the 7th of March 1891, the Chief Commissioner, with an escort of 400 men, started for Manipur. On arriving within a stage of the capital, he was met by the Political Agent, and a long conference took place between them. They then settled that a Durbar should be held to announce the intention of the Government of India to place the Regent on the throne, and to call upon him, as ruler of Manipur, to banish the Senapati. It was also determined, as the Senapati was known to be a most violent and dangerous man, to arrest him in case he declined to submit to the decision of Government. The Chief Commissioner on his arrival at Manipur ordered the Durbar to be held. The Senapati refused to attend, and the attempt made on the 24th of March 1891 to arrest him in his palace was resisted by the Manipuris, and led to open hostilities. The fighting continued till sunset, when the British troops were withdrawn into the grounds of the Residency, which had already been attacked by the rebels. In the course of the evening the Chief Commissioner and a few British officers were inveigled, on the pretence of a conference, into the palace, and were treacherously assassinated. These cruel and foul murders were swiftly avenged. British troops at once occupied the country, and took possession of the capital. The Senapati and five others who took a prominent part in the murders of the English officers were tried, found guilty, sentenced to death, and executed. A punitive fine was inflicted on the State, but it was determined not to annex Manipur. A child, a member of the ruling family, was raised to the chiefship. During his minority the administration of the State is conducted by a Political Resident, and considerable progress has been made in introducing a more civilised and efficient government. Measures have been taken to abolish slavery, and the system of forced labour is no longer permitted.

Another instance in which the Government of India has during the past five years been compelled to interfere in the government of a feudatory State has been that of Khelat. At the end of 1892 His Highness the Khan of Khelat had, in order to avenge the loss of some money which had been stolen from his treasury, caused five women and a man to be put to death, and two other men to be mutilated in a most brutal manner. In the following March His Highness barbarously put to death his Wazir and the Wazir's father and son. He also threw into prison the heirs of the Wazir. When the news reached the Agent of the Governor-General as to what had taken place, he called upon the Khan to surrender the prisoners and to proceed to Quetta to explain his conduct. The request was complied with, and an enquiry was held into the facts of the case. The Khan defended his conduct by stating that the Wazir had attempted to shoot him, and he had in consequence, as a punishment, put him to death as well as his son and his father. The son was a lad of about nineteen years of age, and the father, a bed-ridden and helpless cripple, had reached the patriarchal age of ninety-four. The Sardars of the State, on being consulted with regard to the conduct of the Khan, recommended that he should be deposed, and the Khanship bestowed on his son. The Khan, knowing how strong the feeling against him was in the State, voluntarily tendered his resignation, which was accepted by the Supreme Government. His son has been duly recognised as Khan of Khelat.

The independent principalities and powers beyond the bounds of Hindustan, which come within the purview of the Viceroy of India, extend from the Arabian Sea to the little known dependencies of Burma lying beyond the Salween river. To consolidate our friendship with the independent kingdoms, to define our sphere of influence over the petty States and wild tribes that border our Empire, and to distinctly demarcate the boundaries which separate us from our neighbours, have been

Foreign
Policy.

important features in the external policy of Lord Lansdowne, and much has been accomplished during the past five years in all these directions. As Lord Lansdowne stated in the address to the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce which signalled the close of his administration, we can no longer afford to be indifferent to what passes within the territory of petty chiefs on our border. "Russia on the one side," France on the other, and China on the third, have steadily advanced. Russia has of late displayed much activity in the extension of her Asiatic Railway system, in establishing advanced frontier posts, and in claiming hitherto unclaimed tracts in close proximity to the Passes of the Hindu-Kush. France, on the other side, has, as we all know, moved forward to the Mekong, and is now separated from us by the very flimsy barrier which the so-called (buffer) State will provide. China has made considerable advances. Nor have we altogether stood still, for on the eastern side of British India the annexation of Upper Burma has completely altered our position, and has given us a new interest in the Chin-Lushai country, which has become an enclave in British territory, and territorial claims extending up to, and even beyond, the River Mekong, the left bank of which has, as we know, lately passed under the control of a great European Power.

Is it not obvious that, under these circumstances, our interest in the intervening country is enormously increased? In political geography, Nature abhors a vacuum, and if one thing is certain, it is that, under present circumstances, any spaces left vacant upon our Indian frontiers will be filled up by others if we do not step in to fill them up ourselves. And thus it has come to pass that districts which we could afford to regard with indifference as "no-man's land," or as border Alsacias, with which we need have no concern, have suddenly become of vital importance to us as forming part of the marches of the Empire."

Under these circumstances there has grown up the idea of that which is conveniently described as "a sphere of influence,"—"a sphere, that is, within which we shall not attempt to administer the country ourselves, but within which we shall not allow any aggression from outside." Lord Lansdowne laid down the following principal conditions as necessary in dealing with the tribes and petty States that fall within the limits of such a sphere of influence. First, that within that sphere, we should ourselves hold direct relations with the tribes, but allow them to hold relations with no other powers; secondly, that we should reserve to ourselves the right of free access and the right of making roads, and, if necessary, posts for the protection of those roads; thirdly, that we should respect the independence of the tribes, and not attempt to interfere in the management of their internal affairs or to bring them within the operation of our Courts and Codes. "The policy is," His Lordship said, "I believe, the right one under the political circumstances which now confront us, and it is less likely in the long run to involve us in trouble and expense than the old policy of punitive expeditions, followed by a precipitate and complete withdrawal, a policy which Lord Lytton very aptly described in a speech delivered in Council, as one of alternate vengeance and inaction."

The policy thus laid down by Lord Lansdowne has been carried out with considerable success both on the Western and Eastern sides of the Empire. On the Eastern frontier the large enclave of hilly country lying between Assam, Chittagong and Burma, and inhabited by the Lushais and other barbarous tribes who frequently raided on the neighbouring districts, has been brought into subjection and roads through it have been opened up. Beyond the east of the Lushai tract lies the land occupied by the Chins, a savage and barbarous race over whom the Burmese exercised no control and who had long been accustomed to

raid the adjacent plains. The Government of India determined to put an end to their attacks. A force was sent which occupied their hills, and considerable progress has been made in exploring the country and settling the tribes. In the autumn of 1893, however, a sudden and treacherous outbreak occurred in the north. A considerable force of troops was sent to subdue it, and the northern tribes have now been, to a great extent, disarmed. The whole of the Chin Hills have now been placed under the control of a Political Officer. Beyond the eastern frontier of Burma are the Shan States, the main group of which lies to the east of the Irawadi, but separated from it by certain districts of Burma proper. The chiefs of the Cis-Salween States have been granted Sanads which secure to them, subject to simple conditions as to the payment of tribute and the due recognition of British authority, the right of administering these territories in accordance with Shan customs and the privilege of nominating their successors. On the south of the Southern Shan States lies the country of the Karens, of whom there are two main divisions, the Karen-ne or Red Karens, and the Karen-byu or White Karens. In the year 1888 one of the Karen chiefs attacked the Shan States, and early in the following year a force was sent against him which took possession of his capital. The chief fled and shortly afterwards died. The following year, his nephew was appointed chief in his place. Negotiations have been conducted with reference to a settlement of the boundary between the Burmese Shan States and Siam. The tract of country lying round the upper waters of the Chindwin and the Irawadi and situated north of Upper Burma is mainly occupied by a wild race of mountaineers known in Burma as Kachins and in Assam as Singphos. The Kachins are split up into a very large number of tribes and clans which are again subdivided into an infinite number of petty chiefships and communities. The question of the general policy to be adopted towards the Kachins has occupied the careful

The Shan
States.

Karens.

Kachins.

attention of Government, and Lord Lansdowne took advantage of his tour in Burma to discuss the question in detail with the local authorities. His Excellency was also able to take advantage of local knowledge with regard to two other matters which had long occupied his attention—the delimitation of the frontier between Burma and China, the negotiations regarding which are now entering on the final stage, and the conditions of frontier trade between the two countries. During the administration of His Excellency the negotiations between the Government of India and the Chinese Government with reference to Sikkim have been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. The boundary between Sikkim and Tibet has been defined, our exclusive control over Sikkim recognized and regulations made as to the frontier trade. Many marked changes and improvements have been made in the internal administration of Sikkim. Perfect tranquillity prevails in the State, the revenue is steadily increasing, bridges have been built, and roads which were so greatly needed have been constructed.

Burmo-
Chinese
Frontier.

Sikkim.

The settlement of the boundary of the Empire from Gilgit. Burma in the far South to beyond Kashmir in the far North has occupied the attention of Lord Lansdowne. A few months after His Excellency had assumed the Viceroyalty, an officer had, owing to a disturbance having arisen in the State, to be sent to Gilgit, the frontier province of Kashmir. His report revealed that the weakness and corruption of the Kashmir officials entailed a great loss of life and a vast waste of the State funds, and it was determined to establish a British Agency at Gilgit. The arrangement, however, was opposed by the neighbouring tribes, and they began to plot against it, the most prominent among them belonging to Hunza and Nagar, the two States which occupy the valleys draining into the upper portion of the Kanjar or Hunza rivers, which flow into the Gilgit river, two miles below Gilgit fort. Thirty miles from the

Hunza and
Nagar.

junction of the Hunza valley with the Gilgit valley is situated the Fort of Chalt, the furthest outpost of Kashmir in that direction. Thirty miles above Chalt are the villages of Hunza and Nagar, the first on the right, the second on the left bank of the river, the respective capitals of the two little States. The predatory tribes of Hunza and Nagar have for centuries been the terror of all the people between Afghanistan and Yarkand. From their almost inaccessible defiles they have been in the habit of making frequent raids on their neighbours, and plundering the rich caravans on their way from India to Central Asia. All prisoners of any commercial value—men, women, and children—captured in these raids were driven across the mountains to be sold as slaves.

In the autumn of 1891, the Hunza and Nagar chiefs gathered together their fighting men, and marched upon Chalt. The British Agent, Colonel Durand, on hearing of their intention, made a forced march to the front, and reinforced the garrison. The tribesmen, disconcerted by this prompt step, withdrew to their own country. The aspect of affairs was, however, so threatening that the Government of India despatched 200 Gurkhas, two guns of a Native Mountain Battery and a Gatling to Gilgit. The Agent's staff was also strengthened by fourteen officers. An unsettled feeling continued to prevail amongst the tribesmen, and news was received that both Hunza and Nagar were again preparing to attack Chalt. Colonel Durand, on hearing the intelligence, made a rapid march to that fort, and sent a message to the tribes requiring them to desist from their opposition. They refused to accede to his request, and their refusal was couched in most insolent terms. Negotiations having thus broken down, Colonel Durand crossed the frontier with a force of about 900 men, of whom 200 were British Native troops, and the remainder belonged to the Kashmir Army. The day after the frontier was crossed, the strong fort of Nilt, situated on a position of great natural strength

Capture of
Nilt.

was carried with great dash and determination by a well considered and wisely planned attack. An advance was made on Nagar and Hunza, and both cities were occupied without further resistance. A half-brother of the ex-chief was nominated to the Hunza chiefship, and matters speedily settled down in the two States.

The possession of the Gilgit Valley affords us a direct Chitral communication through Kashmir territory to the valley of Chitral which commands some of the lowest and easiest passes across the Hindoo Koosh, and affords a convenient road to India from Bokhara *via* Badak Shan. Chitral, the capital of the protected State, itself is situated at the junction of several valleys leading to these passes and commanding them all. In August 1892 Aman-ul-Mulk, the old mehtar or chief of Chitral, a most able and sagacious ruler, died suddenly while holding a Durbar. Sardar Nizam-ul-Mulk, his eldest son, after some reverses of fortune established himself as chief of the State. Early next year Dr. Robertson and Captain Younghusband crossed the Thandar Pass, and after a most trying march owing to the intense cold reached Chitral. Lord Lansdowne having decided that recent events did not call for any departure from the policy which had hitherto been adopted with regard to Chitral, Dr Robertson on behalf of the Government of India publicly recognised Nizam-ul-Mulk as mehtar and his territory is to continue under the suzerainty of the Kashmir State. With a view, however, to safeguard the interests of the paramount power, an English officer is for a time at least to reside in the State. The independence of Chitral against Afghanistan has been guaranteed by the recent settlement which has been effected with the Amir.

At no part of the frontier of the Indian Empire has Afghanistan more satisfactory progress been made in establishing a sphere of influence than at the point where the English Government are brought into contact with the dominion of the Amir of Afghanistan. The absence of well-defined limits was in the past a fruitful source of misunderstanding.

ing both with Afghanistan and with the intervening tribes, and a grave obstacle to the cultivation of the intimate relations with our Afghan ally which Lord Lansdowne so earnestly desired. The difficulties which arose with regard to the settlement of frontier questions with His Highness seriously impaired the continuous efforts of the Viceroy "to convince him of our good-will towards him, and of our intentions to fulfil scrupulously our treaty engagements to him." As Lord Lansdowne stated in his parting speech at Calcutta—"Until this winter all the conditions were calculated to lead to misconceptions and strained relations. You had, on the one side, the British Government, actuated by a strong desire to secure peace upon its marches, and to keep open the great avenues by which they are traversed; you had, on the other side, an Eastern Ruler, jealous of external influence, conscious of his own strength, the inheritor of a throne to which there have always clung the dim, but glorious, traditions of a suzerainty including the whole of the Muhammadan tribes of the Punjab frontier. To give such a Ruler a kingdom without properly defined boundaries, was to court difficulties and misunderstandings, and we have had a plentiful crop of them. Could we be surprised if, under such circumstances, the tribes, not knowing whether to look to the Amir, or to us, sometimes turned to Kabul, and sometimes to the Punjab Government, or to the Baluchistan Agency? Was it strange that, in the presence of such a state of things, the trade routes were harried, and raids, followed by bootless reprisals, perpetrated upon British territory, or that every troublesome outlaw and intriguing pretender to the Chiefship of a border State should, whenever it suited him to set us at defiance, represent himself as enjoying the special protection of the Ruler of Islam; or was it unnatural that the Amir should regard with a suspicious eye the extension of our railways and the piercing of the great mountain barriers which screened his possessions from our own?"

There is every reason to hope that all these heart-burnings and jealousies are at an end owing to the amicable settlement effected by Sir Mortimer Durand, the Chief of the friendly mission sent to Kabul at the close of the Viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne. When Lord Lansdowne arrived in India, a Kabul mission had just been countermanded. The Amir was occupied in dealing with a dangerous rebellion, which at the time seemed to threaten the integrity of his possessions. Its suppression required his presence on the remote frontier of Afghan Turkistan, and during the first two years of Lord Lansdowne's Viceroyalty he was absent from Kabul and entirely engrossed with the serious task he had taken in hand. When the Amir returned to Kabul, the attention of His Highness was drawn to several outstanding questions in which he as well as the Government of India were concerned, but his health was impaired and his mind was occupied by complications in his own territory, and he was therefore unable to give to them the consideration they deserved. In July 1892, the Viceroy wrote to the Amir again drawing his attention to the questions which remained to be settled, and announcing the intention of the Government of India to depute Lord Roberts to Jelalabad to confer with His Highness on these important subjects. The Amir expressed his pleasure at the proposal, but owing to the troubles which had arisen in the mountainous region known as the Hazara country, and the state of his health, he was unable to fix a date for the reception of Lord Roberts' mission. At the beginning of last year, however, His Highness having restored order in his dominions and his health having greatly improved, expressed his readiness to receive a mission. As Lord Roberts had left India, Sir Mortimer Durand, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, was chosen to be the British Commissioner, and it was decided that no escort should accompany him, but that the protection of the mission should be entirely left to the troops of the Amir. On the 18th of Septem-

Mission to
Afghanistan.

ber 1893, His Highness having intimated that all arrangements for their reception were complete, the mission party assembled at Landi Kotal, the frontier post of the Khyber Rifles.

Two days afterwards at dawn the mission reached Landi Khana, the frontier post in Afghan territory where they were met by General Ghulam Haidar Khan (of the tribe of Charkhi), the Amir's Sipah Salar or Commander-in-Chief, who was accompanied by an escort of Afghan cavalry. During the march to Kabul the camp was well guarded by the Amir's troops, the most cordial relations were established between the British Commissioner and his Commander-in-Chief, and the whole mission were treated by his orders with lavish hospitality. On the morning of the 2nd of October, the mission made their entry in state into Kabul. Three days after their arrival a formal but most cordial reception was granted to them by the Ruler of Afghanistan. On subsequent occasions the British Commissioner was admitted to more private interviews with the Amir when business was discussed. The question regarding the north-east Frontier having been debated and settled in a satisfactory manner, the British Commissioner brought forward the other questions in which the Amir and the Government of India were concerned. Sir Mortimer Durand enlarged on the identity of the interests of the Amir with those of the English Government, and he pressed upon His Highness the necessity of a frontier settlement. During the negotiations the Amir evinced the strongest desire to arrive at an honourable agreement, and his confidence having been won by the tact, patience and sincerity of the British Commissioner, all difficulties were surmounted, and a most satisfactory agreement was signed. The settlement defined the respective spheres of influence of the two countries. His Highness the Amir bound himself not to interfere in any way for the future with the Bajauris, Afridis, Waziris, and other frontier tribes, and agreed that the frontier line should hereafter be laid down

in detail and demarcated, wherever such demarcation was practicable and desirable, by joint British and Afghan Commissioners. The British Commissioner on the other hand consented to the Amir retaining Asmar, and the valley above it as far as Chandak which is now occupied by the Afghans, His Highness agreeing that he would at no time exercise interference in Swat, Bajaur or Chitral, including the Arnawai or Bashgal valley. The British Government also agreed to leave to the Amir the tract known as Bermal in the north-western part of the Waziri country. As a token of their appreciation of the good-will displayed by His Highness, and the friendly spirit in which he entered into the negotiations, the British Government have consented not only to raise no objection to the purchase and import by His Highness of munitions of war, but have promised to grant him some assistance in this respect, and the Government of India have engaged to increase the annual subsidy of twelve lakhs granted to His Highness by the sum of six lakhs of rupees a year.

After the negotiations had been concluded and the treaty signed, the Amir received the members of the mission at a Durbar in the stately Durbar hall situated in the grounds of the Arq. The hall was crowded with the nobles of the State, and after the members of the mission had been presented to His Highness, the Amir made a speech in which he declared his entire satisfaction with the terms of the agreement, and his firm conviction that the interests of Great Britain and Afghanistan were identical. The remarks of the Amir were received with warm approval, and at the close of the speech, an address, bearing the seal of the leading men of his kingdom, was presented to His Highness which he proceeded to read to the assembly. It expressed their gratitude for what His Highness had done during his reign for Afghanistan and the confidence his subjects had in him as their ruler and protector. They could only repay their debt to him by their unswerving obedience, and

this they would always render to him. Any settlement at which His Highness should arrive they agreed to abide by. Then Sir Mortimer Durand addressed the Amir. After reciprocating the expressions of satisfaction and confidence which had fallen from the Amir the British Commissioner warmly thanked His Highness for the splendid hospitality shown to the mission. In a few graceful words, the Amir acknowledged the speech of the envoy, and the Durbār was brought to a close.

On the 14th of November, Sir Mortimer Durand was admitted to a private interview with the Amir at which his sons and a few important persons were present. Matters relating to trade were chiefly discussed. His Highness stated his kingdom was not at present ripe for a commercial treaty, but he spoke warmly in support of the establishment of a regular "*Amad Raft*" (coming and going) between Afghanistan and India which, he said, would confound any common enemy. Throughout the discussion the Amir treated Sir Mortimer Durand with marked courtesy, and at its close he expressed a hope that he might see him again in Kabul. The following day the Amir bade farewell to the mission, expressed his pleasure at having the opportunity of again seeing Sir Mortimer Durand, and wished him a long and prosperous life. His Highness sent warm messages of greeting to His Excellency the Viceroy, and asked the British Commissioner to assure Her Majesty the Queen-Empress of his attachment. After their farewell visit to the Amir, the British mission left the capital under a salute of twenty-one guns. Thus terminated our latest embassy to Kabul. The difficulties and misunderstandings of years have been removed, and our relations with Afghanistan have been put on the most satisfactory footing. "I believe," said Lord Lansdowne in his farewell address to the citizens of the capital of the Empire, "that my successor will find in His Highness the Amir, who has, during the recent negotiations, evinced the strongest desire

to arrive at an honourable settlement, and to remove all causes of ill-will between his Government and ours, a firm ally and a friendly neighbour, well content to abide honourably by the contract to which he has lately become a party."

The preceding review of the administration of India during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne cannot more properly terminate than with this interesting event in the history of India. The summary is only a simple recital of the chief measures which have been taken towards securing the peace of the Empire and the good of its subjects. The summary, however imperfect, is sufficient to demonstrate that the achievements of the Government have been neither few nor unimportant. The relations between the Government of India and the great States, which are our neighbours, have been placed on a closer and more solid basis; the wild tribes on our borders have been taught that crime and disorder will not be tolerated; the loyalty of the feudatory chiefs has been strengthened by friendly intercourse; the Empire has been made secure from foreign attack by the construction of important military works and improvements in our military system. Measures have been taken for developing the material welfare of the land, and changes and improvements effected for advancing the moral and social position of the people. The educated classes have been admitted to a larger participation in the higher functions of administration, and, by introducing the electoral system into the Universities and the Legislative Council, an advance has been made towards placing the institutions of India on a liberal basis without injuring the stability and integrity of the Empire.

Opinions of the Press

SELECTIONS FROM THE LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND OTHER STATE PAPERS

PRESERVED IN

THE MILITARY DEPARTMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT

OF INDIA, 1857—58.

EDITED BY

G. W. FORREST, B.A.

"Mr. Forrest, the Director of Records to the Government of India, has issued a volume of Military Selections of great interest. It consists of the Mutiny papers preserved in the Military Department in Calcutta. We hope to notice adequately this carefully-prepared work at an early date. Although Mr. Forrest travels over well-trodden ground, his patience and accuracy have succeeded in presenting, in a new light, several important facts connected with the Mutiny. His introductory chapter is, as usual with him, an admirable piece of impartial historical narrative. At present we have only space to welcome his work without attempting even to summarise its contents."—*Times' first notice.*

"Mr. Forrest has performed a public service, an important although a painful service, by the publication of the Mutiny papers preserved in the Military Department."—*Times' second notice.*

"Not only has Mr. Forrest, while indulging in no padding and no fire-works, clothed the skeleton of his abstract with the flesh and blood of a 'live' and interested as well as interesting story, but he has managed at the same time to articulate and display that skeleton so clearly, that the reader has no difficulty in recognising the connection of all the proceedings recounted later under the legal and professional verbiage of courts-martial and despatches."—*The Saturday Review.*

"Mr. Forrest's book consists mainly of a selection from the military archives of those papers which exhibit clearly the causes and circumstances of this extraordinary revolt; showing how it began with premonitory symptoms of mutiny among the troops in Lower Bengal, seemed for the moment to have subsided under vigorous repression, but soon exploded into murderous insurrection at Meerut and Delhi. Then follow the official documents recording in detail the vicissitudes of that brief but fierce campaign, which broke the neck of rebellion by the storm of the Imperial city. To the student of Anglo-Indian history, to all who love graphic particulars of great transactions, to those who desire to know not only what was done but how it was done, these papers will be very welcome and very interesting. More: Mr. Forrest has given an introduction, wherein the whole story is told in clear and vivid style, accurately and comprehensively; with the sympathetic

animation of one who describes a sharp and stubborn contest, yet without the fervid exuberance, whether of praise or of pathos, that has been indulged in by certain (otherwise excellent) writers upon the event."—*The National Observer*.

"The narrative in this volume is one of profound and absorbing interest. We say the narrative, because, after all, it is the introductory chapter by Mr. Forrest, rather than the despatches and other documents which fill the greater part of the volume, that will be most attractive to the general reader. And what a narrative it is! * * * * * It is this splendid story of which we have the full account in Mr. Forrest's volume, told not only in the graphic narrative of the editor, but in the contemporary despatches of the chief actors in the memorable drama. After reading the narrative, one turns with renewed admiration to the documents on which it is based, only to find ourselves called upon to admire afresh the stern simplicity of these records, the conspicuous absence of anything like self-praise or hysterical exaggeration. Clearly it was only the men who could do such deeds who were capable of writing of them with such studied calmness and self-restraint."—*The Speaker*.

"By a few words Mr. Forrest often illustrates the steady discipline and stern resolve of the English soldier."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

"The papers now issued comprise all the military records from the first outbreak of disaffection to the siege and storming of Delhi by the English troops. The editor contributes an admirable introduction summarising the despatches."—*The Westminster Gazette*.

SELECTIONS FROM THE LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND OTHER STATE PAPERS

PRESERVED IN THE

FOREIGN DEPARTMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF INDIA, 1772—1785.

EDITED BY

G. W. FORREST, B.A.

'It is impossible to exaggerate the historical value and importance of the three volumes of Selections.'—*Times' first notice*.

"Mr. Forrest, by the publication of these three volumes of records, has, for the first time, converted the acquittal of Warren Hastings by the House of Lords into a complete historical discharge of the high crimes and misdemeanours of which he stood impeached."—*Times' second notice*.

"In publishing the Proceedings of the Secret Select Committee of the Bengal Council from 1772 to 1785, Mr. Forrest enables us to trace the whole course of Hastings' Indian Administration from the day when he took his seat as Governor of Bengal to the day when he resigned the office of Governor General * * * More light was needed to dispel the mist that still hung around a great man's memory. The light now turned upon it from Calcutta reveals the full extent of the injustice done to Hastings, both in his lifetime and since his death. These Bengal

State papers deal the death-blow to the group of legends invented by Philip Francis for the use of Burke, and brought into order, and more lasting currency, by Macaulay * * * In a masterly introduction of a hundred pages, Mr. Forrest condenses the political history of the thirteen years during which Hastings governed Bengal. His narrative bristles with references, and with quotations, not only from the State papers, but from every known authority of any weight."—*Athenæum*.

"A highly important work, giving for the first time the real history of the governorship of Warren Hastings from the official documents, which had previously been unavailable to refute Macaulay's caricature of the subject. Mr. Forrest has done what the accused statesman was unable to do, and has furnished a vindication, which, however tardy, is absolutely complete, so far at least as the scope of the Selections has extended. The Editor has included a vast number of State papers extending from 1772, the year in which Hastings became Governor of Bengal, to 1785, when he left India. Together with the Editor's excellent introduction, the matter fills three large volumes, which will be found interesting alike to the India specialist and the general student of history."—*Academy*.

"Introduction and documents together form a most valuable addition to the store of learning on which the future historian of the period will have to draw. We rejoice that Mr. Forrest's skill and industry have rescued these invaluable records from the perilous interment of a public Record Room."—*Saturday Review*.

"The reader will therefore be grateful to Professor Forrest for the lucid and masterly introduction in which he relates the history of the period covered by the Selections. In performing this task it was impossible for him to avoid constant reference to the attacks made both at the time and afterwards on every act of Hastings' career. He is careful, however, not to allow the personality of that much-badgered ruler to overshadow the exciting incidents of his times. With rare skill and perfect fairness he reviews the whole period, and while showing the relation of the men to the events, it is to the events rather than to the men that he directs our attention. It is this attitude that constitutes the special value of the introduction, for after all what concerns us moderns in these selections is not so much the character of the men as that of the measures by which the British Empire in India was established."—*Pioneer*.

"It is these proceedings that supply the vindication of the illustrious man who was so much maligned while these papers remained unpublished. He himself said that if these official documents were given to the world, his defence would be strengthened. The Directors at that time did not think it fit to grant this request. But now the work has been done, and Hastings' vindication has been made complete. Every future historian will have to take account of these volumes; and to them Professor Forrest has, as Editor, prefixed a valuable introduction, in which he clearly states the case, and refutes the charges with the aid of the documents published in the body of the work."—*Times of India*.

"Mr. G. W. Forrest has made another valuable and interesting contribution to the store of material of Indian history in the Hastings' papers, which have just been published at Calcutta by authority of the Government of India. The papers extend from 1772, the year in which Warren Hastings became Governor of Bengal, to the 1st of February 1785, the day on which he resigned the office of Governor General. They thus cover a momentous period in the history of British rule in India—a period abounding in wars and negotiations and intrigues, and in conflicts in Council more embittered even than those in the open field. Here the story of the Rohilla Campaign, which Macaulay has told with highly embellished vindictiveness, may be read in the dispassionate simplicity of original documents. More light—if

more light were needed after Sir James Stephen's elaborate investigation of the whole affair—is thrown upon the story of Nundcomar and of Hastings' relation to that high-placed malefactor. Hastings' conflicts and misunderstandings with the Governments of Bombay and Madras are represented in the dry light of papers for the most part new even to the historical student. The story of the Benares rebellion, as well as that story of the Begums of Oudh upon which Burke lavished all the resources of his brilliant but cruel rhetoric, are told at length, not as lucidly perhaps as Macaulay has told them, but in a way nevertheless which carries with it all the living interest of first-hand testimony, and which will mislead no one who knows how to weigh historical evidence. They are all official papers, it is true, but all of them relate to events by which modern India has been moulded and built up, and they are eminently readable. Of Mr. Forrest's performance of duty entrusted to him by Government, nothing but praise need be said. So far as we have seen in a necessarily rapid survey of the three volumes, the selection has been made with great care and judgment, the whole of the papers printed having a direct and important bearing upon the leading events of Hastings' administration. And there are few of them which will not make excellent reading themselves, apart from their value as *mémoires pour servir*. In an introduction of just one hundred pages Mr. Forrest surveys the whole of the field covered by his three volumes. The *Introduction* is all that it ought to be. It is a piece of clear, crisp, and concise writing, in which the Editor keeps closely to his subject, avoiding the temptation, which must often have been strong, to tell himself the story which could properly be told only by the papers with which he was dealing."—*Bombay Gazette*.

ADMINISTRATION OF WARREN HASTINGS, 1772—1785,
 REVIEWED AND ILLUSTRATED
 FROM
 ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS
 BY
 G. W. FORREST, B.A.

"Another work of capital importance to all students of the history of British India is the Administration of Warren Hastings, 1772—1785, Reviewed and Illustrated from Original Documents by G. W. Forrest, B.A. (Calcutta, Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India). This is a reprint in a single volume of the Introduction prefixed to the three folio volumes of "Letters, Despatches, and other State papers, preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India, 1771—1785," which were printed by official authority and edited by Mr. Forrest. This important publication has already been fully noticed in our columns, and its unrivalled value as a contribution to the authentic history of Warren Hastings and his administration has been universally recognized."—*The Times*.

"A few words of especial praise were reserved for the 'Masterly' Introduction in which Professor Forrest worked up his new materials into a full review of Hastings' political career as Governor of Bengal and Governor-General. This introduction he has now reprinted in a separate volume of 317 pages octavo, followed by an appendix of fifty pages and an index of thirty-six. In its present form we may heartily commend it to all those readers—and there must be many such—who, 'though they have not the leisure to study official writings, take an interest in the great ruler

who, by his genius and courage, raised the Company from being a body of merchants and adventurers into the most powerful state in the politics of India.'—*The Athenæum*.

"Mr. Forrest has done well to reprint his introduction to the State papers bearing on the career of Warren Hastings. He has succeeded in showing conclusively that Macaulay was completely misled by Mill, and that the celebrated Essay on Hastings must be regarded as an eloquent piece of romance, so far as several of its main features are concerned."—*The Manchester Guardian*.

SELECTIONS FROM THE STATE PAPERS

PRESERVED IN THE

BOMBAY SECRETARIAT (HOME SERIES).

EDITED BY

G. W. FORREST, B.A.

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